May 23, 2005 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

John R. Coyne Jr. on WFB's LAST CALL FOR BLACKFORD OAKES

NATIONAL REVIEW

Getting Right on Immigration

MEMORANDUM

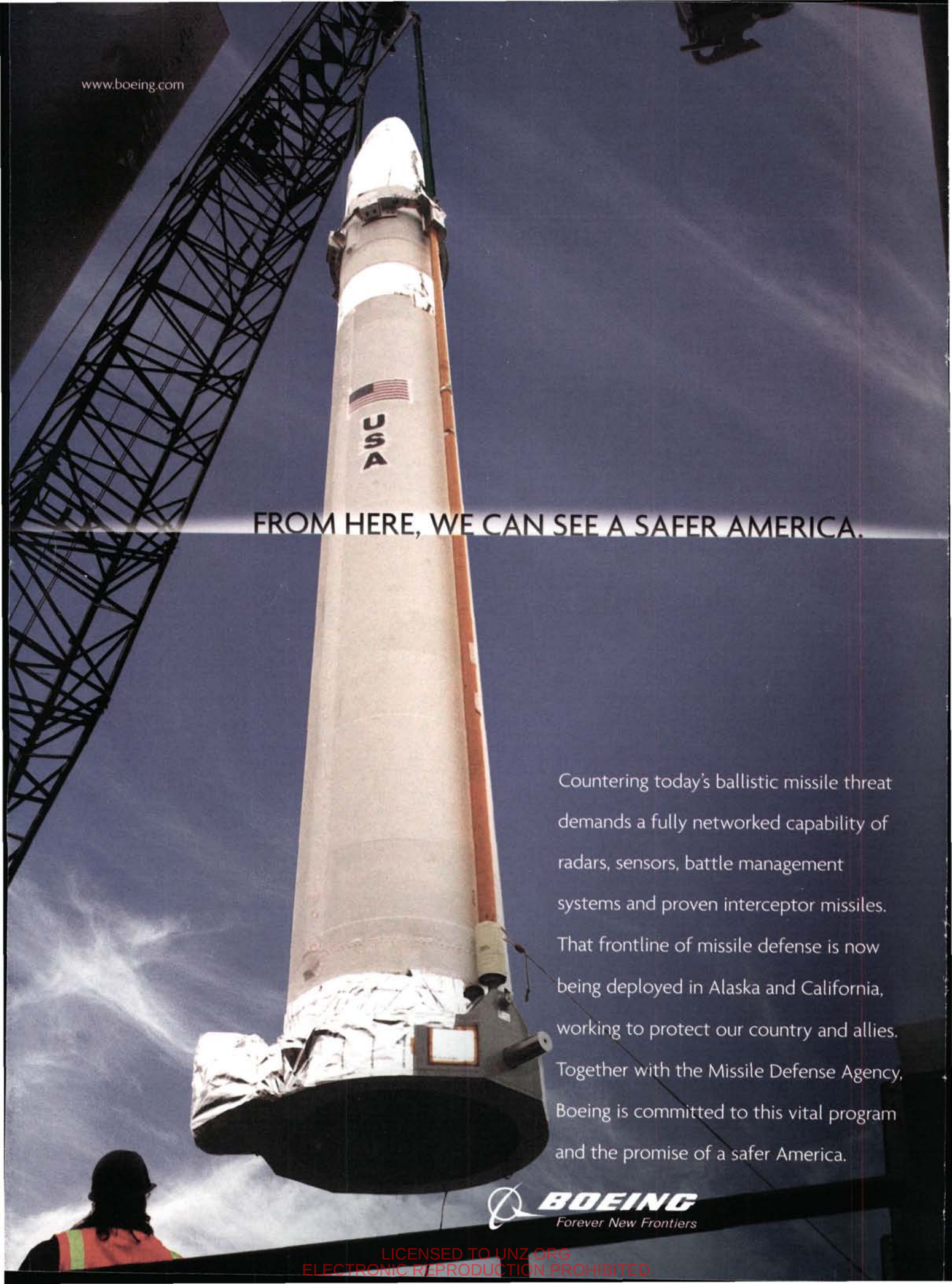
TO: Bill Frist, Rudy Giuliani, George Allen, Mitt Romney, and all other GOP presidential aspirants

HERE IS A COMMONSENSE 10-POINT PLAN TO CONTROL IMMIGRATION. ADOPT IT AND YOU WILL HAVE A LEG UP IN THE FIGHT FOR THE 2008 REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

By Mark Krikorian

#BYNCMYG**********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BY003# 03152006
88 NTRV 684 P099
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


www.boeing.com
USA
FROM HERE, WE CAN SEE A SAFER AMERICA.
Countering today's ballistic missile threat demands a fully networked capability of radars, sensors, battle management systems and proven interceptor missiles. That frontline of missile defense is now being deployed in Alaska and California, working to protect our country and allies. Together with the Missile Defense Agency, Boeing is committed to this vital program and the promise of a safer America.
BOEING
Forever New Frontiers
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAY 23, 2005 VOL. LVII, NO. 9

NATIONAL REVIEW

www.nationalreview.com

■ COVER ARTICLE

Re: Immigration

Page 33

Hillary Clinton is already working to develop a tough, pro-enforcement image on immigration, with a belief that she has a chance of outflanking the GOP on this issue. It is therefore an opportune time to outline an immigration agenda for the 2008 presidential candidates. Here is a ten-point package, which includes both measures that a candidate should pledge to undertake on his own, and legislative changes that he should promote, as president. *By Mark Krikorian*

ARTICLES

18 Blowing Their Stack *by Byron York*
The Democrats go nutso over John Bolton.

22 State of the Cousins *by John O'Sullivan*
What the British elections mean for the U.S.

26 Out of Lebanon *by David Pryce-Jones*
And Bashar Assad may find himself out of power.

27 The Doctor Is Not a Criminal *by Jacob Sullum*
A painful drug-war case in Virginia.

30 The New-Time Religion *by Jonah Goldberg*
Liberalism and its problems.

33 Re: Immigration *by Mark Krikorian*
Ten points for a successful presidential candidate.

36 Independence Day *by Ramesh Ponnuru & Robert P. George*
Thinking seriously about judicial independence, and the state of our courts.

39 About Sudan *by Jay Nordlinger*
What has been done? What can be done?

42 Travels in Fidel-land *by Radek Sikorski*
What a visit revealed.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

48 Made in America—*John R. Coyne Jr.* . . . Last Call for Blackford Oakes, *by William F. Buckley Jr.*

49 The Masterly Bradbury—*James E. Person Jr.* . . . The Bradbury Chronicles: The Life of Ray Bradbury, *by Sam Weller*

51 Filthy Lucre—*Alexander Rose* . . . Medici Money: Banking, Metaphysics, and Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence, *by Tim Parks*

52 Arts: The Music Teacher—James Panero revisits Leonard Bernstein's Young People's Concerts.

54 Shelf Life: Benedict's Bookshelf—Michael Potemra offers a Ratzinger for Beginners reading list.

56 City Desk: Branching Out—Richard Brookhiser sees the wood for the trees.

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 The Week
16 Notes & Asides
46 The Long View
47 Help!
48 Poetry
58 On the Right
60 Happy Warrior

COVER: *Les Stone/Corbis*

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2005. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday-Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $65.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

May 23 issue; printed May 5

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editors
Dorothy McCartney / Christopher McEvoy
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Deputy Managing Editor Alexander Rose
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Associate Editors
Rachel Z. Friedman / Alston B. Ramsay
Jason Lee Steorts

Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Erin Carden
Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Elizabeth M. Fisher
Jane Buckley Smith
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire
W. H. von Dreele / Rod Dreher
David Frum / Roman Genn / Jim Geraghty
Jonah Goldberg / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long / Stephen Moore
David B. Rivkin Jr. / John Simon

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Editor Kathryn Jean Lopez
Webmaster Nathan Goulding

CHAIRMAN
Thomas L. Rhodes
EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / Wm. F. Buckley Jr. (ret.) / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
William A. Rusher / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
Ralph de Toledano / Vin Weber
Timothy J. Wheeler

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the Chairman Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Irina Dynkevich
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Russell Jenkins / Timothy Wolff
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226

ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Representative Jim Fowler
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER & CEO
Edward A. Capano

letters to the editor

IRAQ AND JOURNALISM

In "What Went Right" (May 9) Rich Lowry does a better job of investigating our Mesopotamian success than one could hope for in other outlets. Direct reports from soldiers coming out of the "quagmire" reflect progress, which is corroborated by Iraqis currently "under occupation." Unfortunately, such an article will only be criticized as too optimistic; reporting good news is anathema to so-called good journalism. But as I enter the field, I'm learning it's better to do it like NATIONAL REVIEW than the *New York* (It's the Worst of) *Times*.

J. Peter Freire
Ithaca, N.Y.

THE LIBERAL GOD AS FATHER

I would like to add a revealing coda to Roger Kimball's well-written anti-eulogy of Arthur Miller ("Death of a Liberal God," March 14), something I gleaned from Martin Gottfried's *Arthur Miller: His Life and Work*. Though clearly sympathetic to its subject, Gottfried's biography speaks of a matter that the liberal press overlooked in its flood of Miller praise. By his third wife, Inge Morath, Miller fathered Daniel, a son born with Down's syndrome. Regarding Daniel, Miller told his agent on the phone, "He isn't right. I'm going to have to put the baby away." Daniel was put in a home for people with Down's syndrome and lived out his life there. Inge visited him weekly, but Miller never did, even though the institution was near their home. Nor did Miller acknowledge this son in any public way, including in his autobiography. Thus the great moralist of the public eye—the sensitive, socially conscious soul the liberals so admire—seemed lacking in the most basic of human affections. Attention must be paid to compassionate liberals' lack of compassion.

J. Stephen Lang
Seminole, Fla.

CHIEFS CHOICE

Perhaps because of all the attention given the nomination of John Bolton, and of would-be federal judges, we have not heard much about Gen. Peter Pace, President Bush's choice to head the Joint Chiefs of Staff. To illustrate what a good choice this is, I offer the following exchange, from a press conference on November 21, 2001:

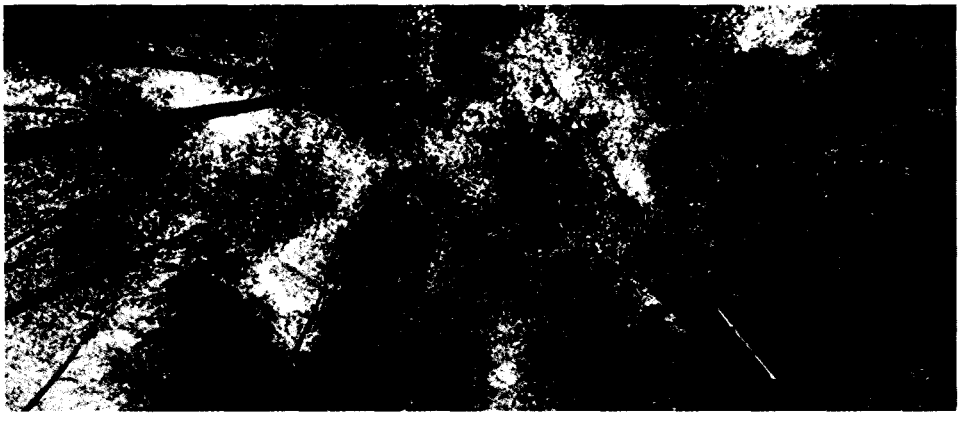
> Q: On tunnels and caves, does the United States have the kind of embedded capability that it developed during World War II, during Vietnam, to specialize in going into tunnels, caves, analyzing it, fighting in it? Do we have that special—(inaudible)—anymore in the ranks?
>
> A: Our specialized approach to caves and tunnels is to put 500-pound bombs in the entrance.

How about that?

Steven I. Wallach
New York, N.Y.

NATIONAL REVIEW encourages letters to the editor. Letters should be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com or by fax to (212) 849-2835 or by mail to Letters Editor, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Please include your full name, address, and daytime phone number. Letters will be edited for space and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The value of seeing the whole forest.

by the parent company of Kraft Foods, Philip Morris International and Philip Morris USA

As a company that is the parent of both tobacco and food companies, we know what it is like to make the news – and not only in the financial reports. But what may not always make news is the long-term performance of a company like Altria Group, Inc.

We're not only one of the 30 companies that make up the Dow Jones Industrial Average, we're also the seventh most-profitable company in the world.* And we've had 37 dividend increases in the last 35 years. The family of brands made by our operating companies includes household names like Maxwell House, Marlboro, Velveeta, Virginia Slims, Philadelphia, Kraft, Nabisco. And many more.

We also know that in order for our companies to continue to be in business they need to strive to meet the expectations of Altria's shareholders, their consumers, regulators and society. It is simply the only path to the future.

For a company as newsworthy as ours, at times it can be hard to see the forest for the trees. But to look beyond immediate challenges and position our company for long-term success, we have to keep the whole forest squarely in sight.

And that's a vision we feel is worth sharing.

Our name is Altria Group.

Altria

Kraft Foods
Philip Morris International
Philip Morris USA

NYSE: MO altria.com

*Source: "Forbes 2000: The World's Leading Companies," *Forbes*, April 12, 2004

© Altria Group, Inc. 2004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ Sheikh Salah al-Luhaidan, chief justice of the supreme judicial council of Saudi Arabia, declared that it is lawful for young men to go to Iraq "to raise up the word of God," i.e., kill Iraqis and Americans. Funny—none of this came up during his confirmation hearing.

■ The Democrats are carrying on as though there were an unbroken tradition, stretching back to the Founders, of using filibusters to require a 60-vote supermajority to confirm judges. Actually, the routine use of the filibuster traces back only to the moment they decided to do everything in their power to block President Bush from putting conservatives on appeals courts. The Democrats have been successful: Bush has gotten a historically low percentage of his appeals-court nominees confirmed. A simple majority of the Senate can change the rules to prevent this abuse. We suspect that the Democrats' campaign of filibusters would come to a natural end even without a formal change in the rules, because the public would expect a Supreme Court nominee to get an up-or-down vote. But Senate Republican leaders seem to think that the risk of letting the filibusters continue is unacceptable, and they have staked their credibility on passing a rules change. The Democrats will complain that ending the filibusters of judges will diminish the rights of the minority party. But those "rights" are a matter of give-and-take in the Senate, and it is their own contumacy that has endangered them. If they want to block Bush's judges, the Democrats will just have to do it the old-fashioned way: by electing more senators.

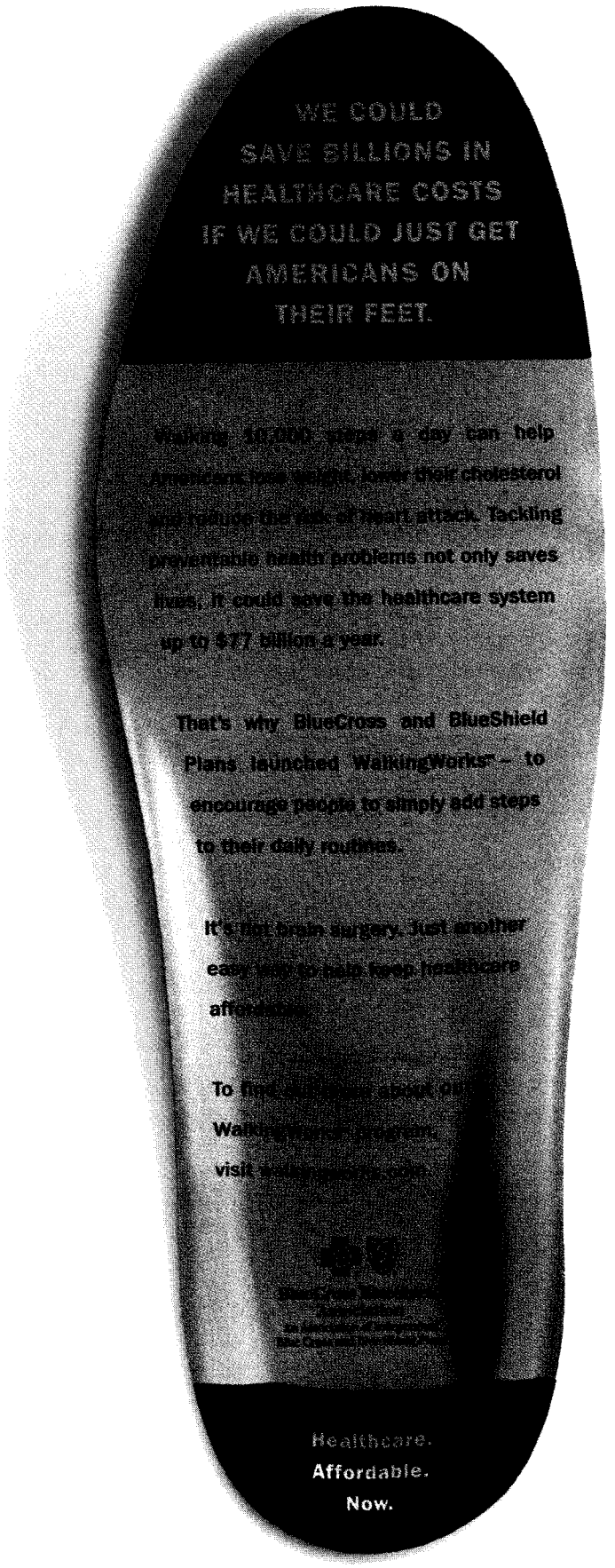
■ Democrats think they have won a great victory against House majority leader Tom DeLay. Back in December, the Republicans changed the Ethics Committee's rules so that a majority was required to launch an investigation of a congressman. Because the committee is evenly divided by party, that means that if all the Republicans opposed an investigation it could not proceed. The Democrats cried foul, even though the Republicans had merely restored the rule that was in place when the Democrats ran the House. But after months of adverse publicity, the Republicans agreed to get rid of the rule. An investigation of privately funded trips that DeLay took will now commence. But the Democrats could come to rue this victory. Since 2000, private groups have spent $16 million funding 5,400 trips by 600 congressmen. Lobbyists are barred from paying travel expenses, but they can accompany congressmen on the jaunts at their clients' expense. The only place where Democrats are in the majority is on these excursions: They have taken 56 percent of them. Tom DeLay ranks 114th in the number of trips taken during the past four years. The trips are supposed to be "educational": Judging from the list of trips, apparently Florida, Arizona, the Caribbean, and Italy are very conducive to learning. Spouses are typically along for the ride . . . um, "study." Speaking of education: Are the Democrats really sure they want voters to learn about all this?

Recently in Crawford

ROMAN GENN

■ What is it about independent counsel David Barrett's final report that Sens. Byron Dorgan, John Kerry, and other Democrats don't want us to see? Barrett—you may recall if you have a strong tolerance for Washington trivia—is the independent counsel chosen to investigate former Clinton-administration HUD secretary Henry Cisneros. Cisneros, accused of lying to the FBI about payments he made to a former girlfriend, pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor back in 1999. So why is Barrett still going, at a cost of $21 million so far? Word is that Barrett uncovered evidence that some IRS officials went out of their way to protect Cisneros, and his report might give us an explosive look inside that agency. The report has been finished for months; it is now in what is called the "comment period," during which those mentioned in the report can respond to its findings. That period will end soon, and the report will be released—unless Democrats succeed in cutting off Barrett's funds, which would make it impossible for him to make it public. Now, we never liked the independent-counsel law. It should never have been reauthorized back in 1994, when Bill Clinton

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


WE COULD
SAVE BILLIONS IN
HEALTHCARE COSTS
IF WE COULD JUST GET
AMERICANS ON
THEIR FEET.
Walking 10,000 steps a day can help
Americans lose weight, lower their cholesterol
and reduce their risk of heart attack. Tackling
preventable health problems not only saves
lives, it could save the healthcare system
up to $77 billion a year.
That's why BlueCross and BlueShield
Plans launched WalkingWorks™ – to
encourage people to simply add steps
to their daily routines.
It's not brain surgery. Just another
easy way to help keep healthcare
affordable.
To find out more about our
WalkingWorks™ program,
visit
Healthcare.
Affordable.
Now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

(to his later regret) insisted that it be renewed. But it was the law, and Barrett has spent $21 million of the taxpayers' money. We ought to be able to see what he discovered.

■ Business investment soared in 2003 and 2004—but early reports suggest that it has more recently dipped. It may not be a coincidence that an important tax on business investment was cut for those two years, and the tax cut then expired. Tax law allows businesses to write off the cost of their investments, but it reduces the value of the write-off by stretching it out over many years. During the recession, Congress accelerated the write-off so more of it came up front. That was better than nothing. But the object of Congress should not be to manage the cyclical rise and fall of business investment. It should be to set a long-term policy that treats investment appropriately. An immediate write-off for investment should be a permanent feature of the tax code. While it may be politically impossible to enact that policy now, the experience of the last few years should be a spur to move toward it.

Bad Surge

THE surge in oil prices in recent months to $50 a barrel is arguably the leading factor behind the recent slowdown of the economy and the sagging stock market this year. There is no point in sugarcoating the reality of our current predicament: We are in the midst of a mini-energy crisis, not nearly as severe as what happened during the Arab oil embargo of the 1970s—when prices skyrocketed from $6 to $30 a barrel in a ten-year period—but economically disruptive nonetheless. Higher oil and energy prices have the impact of a tax on the American economy. Given that we import 3.7 billion barrels of oil a year, the rise in prices from $30 to $50 a barrel will cost the U.S. economy about $75 billion this year alone.

The most imminent danger we face from this mini-crisis does not come from the Arabs but from U.S. policymakers and, alas, many conservative Republicans, who seem hell-bent on resurrecting all of the failed Jimmy Carter policies of the 1970s. Recently, a group of well-meaning national-defense experts with sterling conservative credentials, including Frank Gaffney, James Woolsey, and Boyden Gray, concluded that because our reliance on foreign oil is a security and economic threat, we need to have more Carter-era energy programs to reduce our reliance on Middle East oil. They could not be more economically or fiscally misguided. As energy expert Jerry Taylor of the Cato Institute warns: "If conservatives follow their lead, the U.S. government will waste tens of billions of dollars on corporate-welfare boondoggle energy programs destined to fail again."

Jimmy Carter had a perfect record on energy policy: Every reform he enacted, from the creation of the Energy Department to price controls on oil and gas, exacerbated the crisis of surging prices and drops in domestic supply. One of his most miserable failures was a program called the synthetic fuels corporation (SFC), a federally subsidized alternative-energy program that cost American taxpayers about $2 billion and never produced a single kilowatt of electricity. One of Reagan's first official acts as president was to lift all energy price controls. In 1985 he pulled the plug on the SFC.

No one understood the geopolitical importance of oil more than the Reaganites at the height of the Cold War. What Reagan knew instinctively was that America did not need a national energy policy because we already had one, and it was called the free market. The Reagan economists understood that by lifting energy price controls, prices would temporarily rise, but that would inspire consumers to conserve (without the aid of government bureaucrats to tell them to do so) and cause domestic producers to go out and find and pump more oil. That is precisely what occurred, and eventually oil prices fell from $30 a barrel in 1981 to $12 a barrel by 1986, thus breaking the back of OPEC.

AMERICA THE ENERGY-EFFICIENT SOCIETY

YEAR	BTUs PER DOLLAR OF GDP*	WORLD RESERVES†
1970	18.0	—
1980	15.2	650 billion
1990	11.9	1,050 billion
2000	10.1	1,100 billion
2004	9.3	1,150 billion

*THOUSANDS OF BTUs PER DOLLAR OF GDP †BARRELS
SOURCE: ENERGY INFORMATION AGENCY, 2004

We don't need government subsidies to encourage energy conservation or oil alternatives: Energy conservation in the face of high and rising prices is precisely what the market accomplishes on its own. One result of the higher oil prices since the early 1970s is that the United States has become the most energy-efficient society in the history of the planet. We now produce roughly two times more output per barrel of oil we import than we did in 1970. The National Center for Policy Analysis finds that "the amount of energy needed to produce a dollar of GDP has declined by 1% per year since 1929." We also have nearly twice the global oil reserves today that we had in 1970.

When prices of a product rise appreciably, this sends signals to businesses and entrepreneurs to innovate and find substitutes. This private innovation in the field of energy explains why it is much more likely that over the next decade oil prices will fall than that they will rise. I urge those who doubt this to read Julian Simon's classic *The Ultimate Resource*. As for those well-meaning conservatives, we should ask them why, when government has proven itself an utter failure in running trains, delivering mail, operating schools (even mediocre ones), and fixing potholes in roads, we should believe that Uncle Sam can develop 21st-century electric cars or new cost-efficient energy sources.

—STEPHEN MOORE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Making Diversity a Reality

KURT M. LANDGRAF,
PRESIDENT & CEO, ETS

Like many organizations committed to social justice, ETS faces challenges in creating and sustaining a diverse workforce. In the field of educational measurement, workplace diversity is essential to creating tests that are fair and free of bias.

At the same time, state and federal governments, by adopting higher standards for public schools, are placing greater demands on those who develop, administer and score tests and interpret test results.

For ETS, these are parallel priorities. We insist on a diverse workforce, and we insist on meeting the higher standards that are at the core of education reform.

Yet, in the 2000-2001 academic year, U.S. universities conferred only about 500 doctorates in educational psychology, evaluation and measurement. Of these, only 18 percent came from underrepresented groups, and included many international scholars who later returned home to take up their profession.

This shortfall is further proof that our society is not doing enough to expand educational opportunity across ethnic lines. However, the response that "We want to have a more diverse workforce, but we just can't find enough qualified candidates" doesn't cut it. Worse than an excuse, it's frequently code for something else entirely.

ETS's response has been different. Rather than falling back on excuses, we're recruiting aggressively among ethnically diverse groups, and we're focusing on professional development opportunities to help retain and promote from within.

We are also working to enhance our relationships with institutions that share our values. For example, we're interacting with members of both Historically Black Colleges and Universities and the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities on recruitment.

And each summer, we invite educators and students from underrepresented groups to participate in our Visiting Scholars and Summer Intern programs. These talented individuals enrich our test development process, and help ensure that the concerns of underrepresented groups regarding fairness are represented at ETS.

If American democracy is to thrive, we must achieve equity and excellence in education. ETS's founders believed that access to learning is essential to quality of life and as such should be available to all, and it's what we believe today.

At ETS, we're listening to educators, parents and policymakers. We're learning from sound research. And we're leading the effort to achieve both informed public policy and informed educational practice.

Listening. Learning. Leading.

ETS®

Continue the conversation. Log On. Let's Talk. www.ets.org/letstalk1.html

Copyright © 2002 Educational Testing Service. All rights reserved. Educational Testing Service, ETS and the ETS logo are registered trademarks of Educational Testing Service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

■ Hasan Akbar, an Army sergeant, was sentenced to death for a grenade and rifle attack he launched on sleeping comrades at the start of the Iraq war in March 2003. Akbar killed two, Army Capt. Christopher Siefert and Air Force Maj. Gregory Stone, and wounded 14. Akbar's defense lawyer alleged mental problems, but he had alienation problems all his life. His mother, Quran Bilal, changed his name when he was a boy from Mark Fidel Kools (think Fidel Castro, not *Semper Fidelis*). During the trial, his father, John Akbar, said his son had been mocked by racist soldiers before the attack; no evidence of such behavior has been found. The fruit did not fall far from the tree. Hasan Akbar is a libel on loyal Muslims, a disgrace to his uniform, and a traitor to his country. He richly deserves his punishment.

■ According to the papers, Hillary Clinton is quite the moderate on abortion, leading her party to a less absolutist position. True, the senator has made some rhetorical feints, in classic Clintonian style: "Safe, legal, rare," blah, blah, blah. But as Hillary basks in this new image, it should be remembered that she is, in fact, an absolutist on abortion: She would not restrict any abortion, anywhere, and that includes partial-birth abortion, famously described by her predecessor, Senator Moynihan, as "close to infanticide" (not close enough, apparently). It will be interesting to see how Senator Clinton votes. For example, she will have a chance to vote on CIANA, the Child Interstate Abortion Notification Act, which would make it a federal crime to transport minors across state lines for the purpose of having an abortion, in an attempt to evade parental-notification laws. (A judicial waiver would apply.) A few political speeches, geared to '08, should not obscure the bedrock reality: Hillary Clinton is for abortion on demand.

■ Following the spread of right-to-carry laws (38 states now have them), Second Amendment enthusiasts are now promoting right-to-shoot laws, affirming that a citizen may "stand his or her ground and meet force with force, including deadly force, if he or she reasonably believes it is necessary to do so to prevent death or great bodily harm." Those words are taken from a bill passed easily (unanimously in the senate, 94–20 in the house) by the Florida state legislature last month, and signed into law by Gov. Jeb Bush. Floridians were previously required to retreat when threatened, if retreat was possible. Establishment opinion has naturally been scandalized by the new law. Sputtered the *Washington Post*, "[A]ny measure that increases the possibility of innocent people being killed or injured is a threat to public safety." The people of Florida beg to differ. The greatest threat to public safety, in their collective opinion, arises from criminals; and, as one of the bill's sponsors observed: "Disorder and chaos are always held in check by the law-abiding citizen."

■ As anybody—well, anybody who has been to journalism school—knows perfectly well, the Democratic party represents working families, while Republicans are the party of the rich. Since very few citizens are rich, this raises the rather troubling conundrum: How on earth do Republican candidates ever win elections? The *Charleston* (W. Va.) *Gazette* recently aired this paradox in an editorial, wondering why the Mountain State, mainly "blue" through the middle 20th century, is now stubbornly "red." For an answer they turned to—what else?—*Le Monde*, a Parisian newspaper distinguished for old-Europe condescension to the uncouth bow-legged cowboys of *les Etats-Unis*. Turns out that the sly George W. Bush, with his "anti-intellectual stance," and with assistance from "other right-wing voices," stirred up the proles by appealing to their attachment to "patriotism, love of guns, Bible Belt fundamentalism, resentment of liberal intellectuals, and defense of the coal industry against environmentalism." Shocking. As James Taranto pointed out at OpinionJournal.com, a better insight into West Virginia's blue-red switch is offered by the fact that the *Gazette* editorialists are so out of touch they reach for *Le Monde* to explain their state's politics.

■ A new government has been agreed on and approved by the parliament in Iraq. This is a historic achievement, giving the country its first democratically elected government in decades. But political momentum was lost in the time it took to negotiate the complex three-sided problem that is Iraq's post-Saddam politics, as each of the main ethnic and religious blocs (Shiite, Kurdish, Sunni) has its own internal divisions. Even now the job isn't completely finished, with a few key ministries remaining unfilled. In the long interval between the January 30 elections and the installation of the new cabinet, the insurgency seemed to regain some steam. But it still offers only murder and mayhem, with occasional tactical refinements in how it delivers its evil. Every day that the political process moves forward, with all its inevitable fits and starts and imperfections, the insurgency will seem a little more futile and pointlessly disruptive, the new Iraq more inevitable and sustainable.

■ Saudi police busted a secret ring of Christians, arresting 40 Pakistani men, women, and children who were praying in a Riyadh apartment. Police found religious books and cassettes and a cross. "These people tried to spread the poison and their beliefs to others," said a police source, "by means of distributing pamphlets and publications." Now that that's all cleared up, on to al-Qaeda.

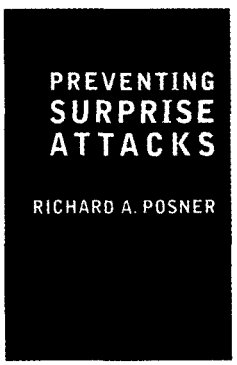
■ They do things their own way in Russia. The 60th anniversary of victory in World War II brought out onto the streets of Moscow parades of elderly men in bemedaled uniforms, and enthusiastic younger Communists as well. Here and there in the country, they are putting up statues to Stalin. President Vladimir Putin has a message for everyone: The collapse of the Soviet Union was "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century." One can debate about these things, but Communism was at least the equivalent of Nazism as a criminal regime, and left more victims. Putin's words sent a shudder through the Baltic republics, Poland, and the rest of the former Soviet bloc, where the collapse of the Soviet Union at last replaced the oppression of the population with sovereignty and freedom: a miracle rather than a catastrophe. Russians, it is true, have to pick up the pieces strewn over their landscape by the collapse of the totalitarianism that Russian Communists imposed on them. Putin's increasingly authoritarian behavior, and his creepy nostalgia, isn't making it easy for them.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cutting-Edge Commentary on Public Policy

NOW IN BOOKSTORES

HOW TO PREVENT ANOTHER 9/11



PREVENTING SURPRISE ATTACKS
Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11
Richard A. Posner
0-7425-4947-X cloth $18.95

Call 800.462.6420
or purchase online at
rowman.com

What the 9/11 Commission Got Wrong . . .

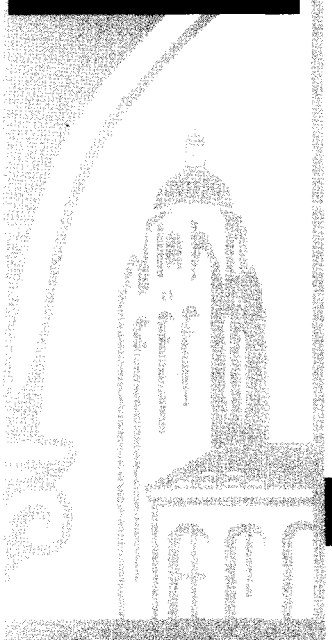
In a searing critique, Richard Posner's new book* Preventing Surprise Attacks *identifies the issues overlooked by the 9/11 Commission and Congress, exposes the pitfalls created by new terrorism legislation, and suggests directions for real reform.

In a misguided quest for unanimity, a determination to use the political calendar, and a public relations campaign to force precipitate action on weakly supported proposals for far-reaching organizational change, the 9/11 Commission, abetted by a stampeded Congress, a politically cornered president, and a press that failed to subject the Commission's recommendations to the searching scrutiny that the modern press reserves for scandals, disserved the cause of national security in a dangerous era. It did so by successfully promoting a bureaucratic reorganization that is more likely to be a recipe for bureaucratic infighting, impacted communication, diminished performance, tangled lines of command, and lowered morale than an improvement on the previous system.

It may, moreover, induce complacence about our "reformed" intelligence system and by doing so deflect attention from graver threats than a repetition of 9/11. If the public believes that the Intelligence Reform Act has fixed the system—if it believes that any reforms can ensure against intelligence failures—it will be less willing to support (and pay for) the strengthening of the other elements of an integrated system of national defense, including deterrence, border defense, and the guarding and hardening of potential targets. Such a relaxation of effort would be an invitation to disaster.

—from *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11*

"Richard A. Posner does not simply point to feet of clay. He attacks them with hammer, tongs, and clarity of insight when it comes to the dangers of the ragged overhaul of U.S. intelligence that Congress and the Bush administration now pursue. . . .
You can't read this book and come away believing that Congress has fixed the problem."
—Jim Hoagland, *Washington Post*



Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Published by Rowman & Littlefield in cooperation with the Hoover Institution as part of the Hoover Studies in Politics, Economics, and Society series.
General Editors: Peter Berkowitz and Tod Lindberg.

HOOVER INSTITUTION

. . . ideas defining a free society

Hoover Institution Stanford University Stanford, CA 94305-6010 Tel: 877.466.8374 Fax: 650.723.1687 info@hoover.stanford.edu www.hoover.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

■ Still waters run deep, so they say, and that's certainly true of Canada, which sometimes errs into holier-than-thou territory when it comes to its warmongering, rapacious, intolerant neighbor to the south. We mean, who would have thought that the ruling Liberals—who have created an ersatz Canadian nationalism based on being "nicer" and "more caring" than Americans—could be caught up in a scandal so awesomely big it makes Watergate look like a high-school production of *Cats*? NATIONAL REVIEW's David Frum, for instance, describes the Libs as having developed in the 1990s "a system of extortion, embezzlement, kickbacks, and graft" in order to purchase separatist-minded Quebec's support for staying in the union. Without Quebec's backing, the Liberals would have been finished as Canada's quasi-permanent ruling party. Consequently, tens of millions of dollars were funneled into "sporting events" and "cultural projects," and later on into the capacious pockets of the party's pals. Fat government contracts were doled out to various companies run by the last prime minister's cronies in return for . . . doing nothing. Result: There's an election in the offing, and the Conservatives are looking good to the voters, but as for Quebec, the scandal has resurrected secessionism as a viable platform. Deep waters, indeed.

■ Zimbabwe was reelected to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, eliciting fierce protest from the U.S. and a handful of other countries. The way we see it, Zimbabwe will have a moderating effect on its fellow commission members: Cuba, China, Sudan . . .

■ From time to time, these pages have mentioned Jian-li Yang, the Chinese democracy activist who is languishing in some PRC prison. His third "anniversary" was recently marked. Remember the basic biographical facts: Tiananmen Square leader, a Ph.D. from Berkeley (mathematics), another Ph.D. from Harvard (political economy), creator of the Foundation for China in the 21st Century, in Brookline, Mass. Beyond these credentials, he is a magnificent spirit. Jian-li visited NR offices in the summer of 2001. We hope to see him again. So do his wife, Christina Fu, and children, Aaron and Anita, all of whom are American citizens. Jian-li has "permanent resident" status in this country. Those words, "permanent resident," seem forlorn, in his present circumstances.

■ Thirty years after the fall of Saigon, Americans can reflect that the Vietnam War did confine the virus of Communism to former Indochina. Vietnam's once-threatened neighbors became the Asian tigers, and Vietnam now yearns for admittance to their club. But we must also remember that our defeat was a blow to American prestige, and therefore power, as well as a catastrophe for the South Vietnamese. As Gen. Vernon Walters put it, "For over ten years, bombs rained down on every village and hamlet in South Vietnam, and no one budged. It took the coming of a Communist 'peace' to send hundreds of thousands of people out into the South China Sea, on anything that could float, or might float, to risk dehydration, piracy, and drowning." And next to the Cambodians, these refugees were lucky. All we said then, and all we are saying now, is, when confronted by murderous brutes, give war a chance.

■ Fidel Castro reads NR, but he doesn't learn anything from it. On April 30, he quoted from Otto Reich's cover story in our April 11 issue, on the partnership between Castro and Venezuela's strongman Hugo Chávez. (The two were having a summit in Havana.) Reich had written, "With the combination of Castro's evil genius, experience in political warfare, and economic desperation, and Chávez's unlimited money and recklessness, the peace of this region is in peril." According to Reuters, "Castro, 78, read out Reich's words to a delighted audience in Havana's Karl Marx Theater." Delighted, we're sure—not half as delighted as Cubans will be when the tyrannical old bastard finally meets his reward. Why doesn't he read out *those* words, next time he's in the Karl Marx Theater?

■ You may remember Rachel Corrie, the 23-year-old American radical who was crushed to death when she jumped in front of an Israeli army bulldozer. (The bulldozer was trying to destroy a building suspected of concealing tunnels used for terrorist weapons-smuggling; Corrie was part of a group that declared "armed struggle" a Palestinian "right.") Corrie has since become a hero of the international Left, inspiring ongoing protests against the bulldozer-making company Caterpillar and, now, a play about her life, based on her diary, at one of London's most prestigious theaters. The British press, predictably, has gushed about the play, and about Corrie's passion and apparent self-sacrifice. But as our friend Tom Gross points out, forgotten are several other Rachels who have lost their lives in the Arab–Israeli conflict—all killed by Palestinian terrorists: Rachel Charhi, Rachel Gavish, Rachel Levi, Rachel Levy, Rachel Shabo, and Rachel Thaler. Corrie's death was unfortunate, but more unfortunate is a Western media and cultural establishment that lionizes "martyrs" for illiberal causes while ignoring the victims those causes create.

■ Among the minor misfortunes of life, being left at the altar has always been considered one to arouse unqualified sympathy. This unhappy fate befell John Mason of Atlanta the other day, when his bride-to-be went missing shortly before their wedding. Police searches were conducted, a reward was offered, and the worst was feared. The more melodramatically inclined among us thought of *Adam Bede*; the less so, of *Muppet Treasure Island*, in which Miss Piggy, on being told by Kermit that he had absconded because of cold feet, responded, "You're a frog. You're supposed to have cold feet." Well, it turned out that this bride had cold feet, too—or rather, in the dismal twelve-step jargon of our time, "issues." She showed up in Albuquerque, penniless and distraught, at first claiming to have been kidnapped, but soon confessing that she had fled voluntarily from the looming nuptials. There was some discussion about whether she should be charged with wasting police time. Perhaps so, perhaps not. Our own reaction is one of happiness at knowing that the ceremony of marriage, battered, betrayed, and politicized as it has become, is still taken seriously enough to cause such a reaction in a young woman. May marriage long remain a momentous life event—for many of us, as for this Atlanta bride, the most momentous of all.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Life insurance rates have just dropped to all-time lows.

Call 1-800-995-9790 today. Our new computer system will compare rates of over 60 leading companies in 5 seconds, reveal best buys to you.

10-Year Term Life Insurance *Sample Monthly Premiums*			
Age	**$500,000**	**$1,000,000**	**$2,000,000**
40	$17	$29	$53
45	$26	$46	$87
50	$38	$68	$131
55	$56	$106	$207
60	$83	$157	$311
65	$135	$257	$460

☑ Or visit www.insure.com for instant quotes

☑ *NEW!* Also quoting auto, health, home and more…

☎ Call right now for free quotes

1-800-995-9790

Ad Code: NR 5/05

Insure.com

Insurance shopping made fast and easy.

NOTE: The sample Pennsylvania female rates shown above are not specific to any individual person or insurer. Please call 1-800-504-6659 or visit www.insure.com to obtain personal quotes specific to your health history profile. Copyright ©2005 Quotesmith.com, Inc., 8205 South Cass Avenue, Suite 102, Darien, Illinois, 60561 and Life Quotes,Inc., 32045 Castle Court, Evergreen, CO 80439. All rights reserved. CA agent #0A13858, LA agent #200696, MA agent #333509159. Quotesmith.com, Inc. dba Insure.com Insurance Services in CA underagent #0827712, in LA under agent #205078. Quotesmith.com, Inc. dba Insure.com Insurance Services, Inc. in UT under agent #90093. Quotesmith.com dba Insure.com and Life Quotes,Inc. in CO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

■ With the cancellation of the TV show *Enterprise*, the Star Trek franchise, for the first time in years, offers nothing new on the large or small screen. The many mutations of Gene Roddenberry's brainchild march on in syndication and DVD, of course, as does the Trekkie cult. C. S. Lewis long ago grappled with the literary standing of stories that may be indifferently written, but that evoke compelling situations and actions. (How much of the King Arthur mythos is well-written? Have you tried to read Malory lately?) Lewis's insight was vulgarized by Jungians like Joseph Campbell, who reduced great stories to pop-psych archetypes. Star Trek at its best offered men like us confronting strangeness with old-fashioned tools like leadership. One day perhaps a Cervantes will take this material where it has never gone before.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The President Leads

In a press conference, President Bush provided more details on his Social Security reform. He continued to express support for personal investment accounts. He also came out, for the first time, for reductions in the growth of benefits for middle-income and upper-income workers. His proposal drew strong protests from the left, and scattered protests from the right.

John Kerry argued that Social Security benefits could be maintained if Bush's tax cuts were repealed. But he is engaging in some sleight of hand. The casual observer might have thought that Kerry was saying that all promised benefits could be paid for if we just reverted to the average tax rate of 2000. In truth, Kerry envisions an average tax rate that creeps steadily upward—well above any level that America has suffered before. And why should middle-income and upper-income workers pay higher taxes in order to finance higher benefits for themselves? Surely most of them would prefer to keep that money rather than hand it over to the government for not-so-safe keeping.

Many liberals worry that a reduction in benefits for higher-income workers will undermine Social Security politically. The program has always been built on a kind of deceit. It has a strong redistributive component. But the redistribution is hidden. Everyone pays taxes to Social Security and gets benefits from it, and so everyone thinks that he is getting back what he paid in. Affluent voters do not complain about paying for the retirement of low-income workers because they do not notice that they are. The program would be much smaller and more manageable if it stopped robbing Peter to pay Peter. The liberal fear is that a more openly welfarist program that robbed Peter to pay Paul would forfeit Peter's enthusiasm.

But this fear is highly speculative. Most voters will not want to see large numbers of people face penury in retirement. The Democratic solutions on offer—raising taxes on the successful—would not be likely to make them any more supportive of the program. And the country should not have to put up with higher taxes and reduced investment opportunities because the consequences might be adverse to liberals' political interests somewhere down the line.

The change in benefits that Bush is envisioning is a reasonable one. Robert Pozen, a Democrat who came up with the idea of progressive benefit cuts, has outlined how it would work for a median-income worker retiring in 2045. Under the Bush plan, he would receive $16,417 a year from the government. Bush's critics say that the same worker would get $19,544 if the current benefit levels are maintained. But they are wrong about what the current system "promises" and are therefore using the wrong comparison. Since the program can't pay for its promises, an unreformed program would automatically cut benefits. Social Security, unreformed, would give our middle-income worker only $14,267. If we reform the program now, he will come out ahead—and that's before we add in his opportunities for accumulating wealth in his personal account.

Bush has critics on the right who favor personal accounts but want to keep benefits at their promised levels. Their solution to the program's insolvency is essentially to run up large amounts of debt. Most conservatives should be able to see that a plan with benefit restraint and less debt is far superior to one with no benefit restraint and more debt. So the advocates of the debt solution generally make a political argument: Republican politicians, they say, would be safer following their course.

But this political calculation is dubious. Congress is at least as likely to enact a reform that moderates benefit growth as it is to approve one that involves trillions of dollars of explicit debt. Whether voters would be angry at the prospect of benefit "cuts" that would occur far in the future has not recently been tested. The last time congressmen voted for such cuts—after the Greenspan commission recommended them in 1983—they did not suffer massive losses. True, in that instance there were bipartisan majorities for the cuts that would not exist this time. But the polling so far has not provided cause for alarm (even if it has provided cause for concern).

Committees in the House and Senate are starting to take up Social Security reform. They should follow the president's lead.

AT WAR

Powell vs. Bolton

John Bolton is supposed to be a "kiss up, kick down" kind of guy, according to his bureaucratic critic Carl Ford. If Bolton is such a kiss-up, however, it is passing strange that he has managed to earn the opposition of nearly everyone around his former State Department boss Colin Powell. Four senior Powell advisers have come out against Bolton. The former secretary of state himself has been badmouthing Bolton with Republican senators. The struggle over his confirmation is partly the battle over policy in Bush's first term played out in a different forum.

Disputes over whether Bolton has distorted intelligence or occasionally spoken sharply to people are diversions (Byron York knocks down such charges elsewhere in this issue). The question in its essence is whether Bolton has been nominated to serve the United Nations, as liberals have it, or to serve the president of the United States and the goals of his foreign policy *at*

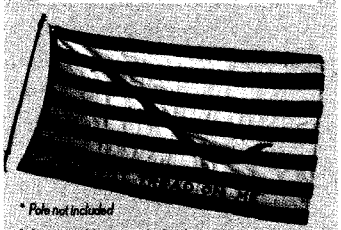
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Join the U.S. Navy and Proud Americans in Warning: "DON'T TREAD ON ME"

We invite you to proudly display this American symbol and send a message to the world that America will stand up to its aggressors and preserve liberty.

Eagle Special Products has joined with the United States Navy Memorial Foundation to bring you a special edition First Navy Jack Flag. Created to meet the standards of flag construction established by the United States Navy Memorial Foundation, each 3' x 5' flag in this edition is handmade, piece-constructed together, and then marrow-stitched.

We have also arranged for each First Navy Jack Flag to be hand-raised according to tradition over the U.S. Navy Memorial. Your flag will be accompanied by a certificate documenting that your flag was flown over the U.S. Navy Memorial.



* Pole not included

* A portion of the proceeds of each sale goes to support the U.S. Navy Memorial Foundation and the Naval Heritage Center.

U.S. Navy Photo by Photographer's Mate 2nd Class Todd Frantom

The United States Navy is relying on a historic icon to remind the world of America's strength and courage.

The Rattlesnake has been a favorite symbol of independence throughout America's history. Adopted as a uniquely American icon by early patriots, such as Benjamin Franklin, the rattlesnake represents American unity. Individually, its rattles have no sound, but united they can be heard by all. And while it does not strike unless threatened, once provoked the deadly rattlesnake never surrenders.

The rattlesnake was used as a symbol of resistance to British repressive acts in Colonial America. Flags bearing rattlesnakes with the simple warning "Don't Tread on Me" were flown on the first ships of the Continental Navy in the Delaware River in 1775.

Today, as America faces unprecedented threats, this historic symbol has emerged as a reminder of our origin and true courage. The Secretary of the Navy, Gordon R. England, has ordered all U.S. Navy ships to fly the First Navy Jack in place of the Union Jack for the duration of the Global War on Terrorism. In a memo to all ships and stations, England explained, "The temporary substitution of this Jack represents a historic reminder of the nation's and Navy's origin and will to persevere and triumph."

CALL NOW: 1-888-486-2000

☑ **Yes!** Please send me _____ U.S. Navy Jack Flag(s) that have flown over the U.S. Navy Memorial at $49.95 each plus $4.95 shipping and handling.

_____ Total Amount Enclosed.

❑ My check is enclosed (payable to **Eagle Special Products**)

or

❑ Charge my: ❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard ❑ AMEX ❑ NAVUS

Card _____ Exp. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

E-mail _____

To receive monthly bulletin with product specials, book specials, and free excerpts from unreleased books

Please mail to:

Eagle Special Products • P.O. Box 97198 • Washington, DC 20090-7198

1-888-486-2000 or Fax (202) 216-9676

www.NRBookService.com

©2005, EPI

Priority Code: C6205 SP0502A

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the United Nations. Bolton is a superb choice partly because there is no chance of his being captured by the U.N. bureaucracy. We expect that at the end of Bolton's tenure at the U.N., he will have earned just as much enmity from recalcitrant bureaucrats there as he did from those at Foggy Bottom.

This was at the root of Bolton's dispute with Powell. Since he has no strong philosophical moorings himself, Powell quickly became the servant of the permanent State Department establishment, for whom Bush's post-9/11 reorienting of U.S. foreign policy was discomfiting at best. Bolton was not just a believer in Bush's foreign policy, but regarded it as his professional duty to represent it in a building where he knew it wouldn't make him popular. This occasionally meant clashes with State's civil servants. But it mostly meant routinely disagreeing with Powell and his right-hand man Richard Armitage, both of whom are now bent on exacting their revenge in a campaign marked by Powell's trademark underhanded, off-the-record style.

The Bolton opposition is an iron triangle of Powell and his team, Senate Democrats, and the press, which is happy to take dictation from Bolton's detractors (*New York Times* reporter Douglas Jehl in particular should be made an honorary member of the Democratic staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee). John Bolton serves for them as a stand-in for President Bush's foreign policy. By taking aim at him, they are trying to demonstrate that Bush's policies no longer have enough political juice even to win the support of moderate Republicans, and also to keep Bush from promoting their most loyal advocates. Bush cannot allow these people to prevail.

It is important, as Bush is now doing, to elevate the debate away from individual allegations to the real objection of many Bolton critics: that he will be too aggressive in representing U.S. policy at the United Nations and in challenging the corrupt and ineffectual status quo there. In other words, he is no Colin Powell—and just the man for the job.

THE LAW

Chief Among Equals

With the retirement of an ailing Chief Justice William Rehnquist expected soon, the mind of the Bush administration has been turning to his replacement. The White House has been getting advice, not all of it solicited. Liberal legal commentator Jeffrey Rosen wrote in *The Atlantic Monthly* that Rehnquist had been a very "impressive" and "successful" chief justice because of his lack of ideology, and implied that Bush should find someone similar.

We cannot agree. Rosen counts Rehnquist as a success by defining success too narrowly, as a matter of preserving the Court's comity and reputation. Rehnquist was much less successful in getting the Court to embrace a principled constitutionalism in exercising the power of judicial review. The Rehnquist Court has seen modest improvements on church and state, on criminal procedure, and, more debatably, on federalism. In general, however, it has not achieved the return to constitutional principle that conservatives had hoped for.

This failure was only partly his fault. His effectiveness in steering the Court toward constitutional sanity, especially when it comes to respecting the constitutional limits of its own power, has been damaged by his inability to articulate and defend consistent legal principles—an inability that flows from his not really holding such principles, as opposed to generally favoring conservative results. There is a reason that liberals inveigh against Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas and leave Rehnquist alone.

But there is also a limit to what any chief justice can do. The lineup of justices on the Court ultimately matters more than who is managing it. If Justice Sandra Day O'Connor had been chief justice over the last 30 years and Rehnquist an associate justice, it is hard to believe that the Court's jurisprudence would look markedly different.

It follows that conservatives should care far more about the identity of any new justice than about who will be chief. To elevate Justice Scalia or Thomas to chief would not compensate for the addition of another justice in the mold of Anthony Kennedy or O'Connor. Conservative resources would be better spent fighting for a new conservative justice than fighting for the elevation of one of the current ones. The administration should therefore look for a chief justice outside the current Court. It also follows that if it does, it should look for most of the same things it should look for in any justice: above all, a respect for the text of the Constitution as it was understood by the ratifying public. The would-be justice should also respect the Court's precedents—but when those precedents are seriously out of line with the constitutional text, he should be willing to overrule them. The presence of that willingness is especially important in an era where the Court has taken on so many responsibilities and faces few effective checks. The Court's errors have become more important, and if the Court will not correct them itself it is unlikely anyone else will.

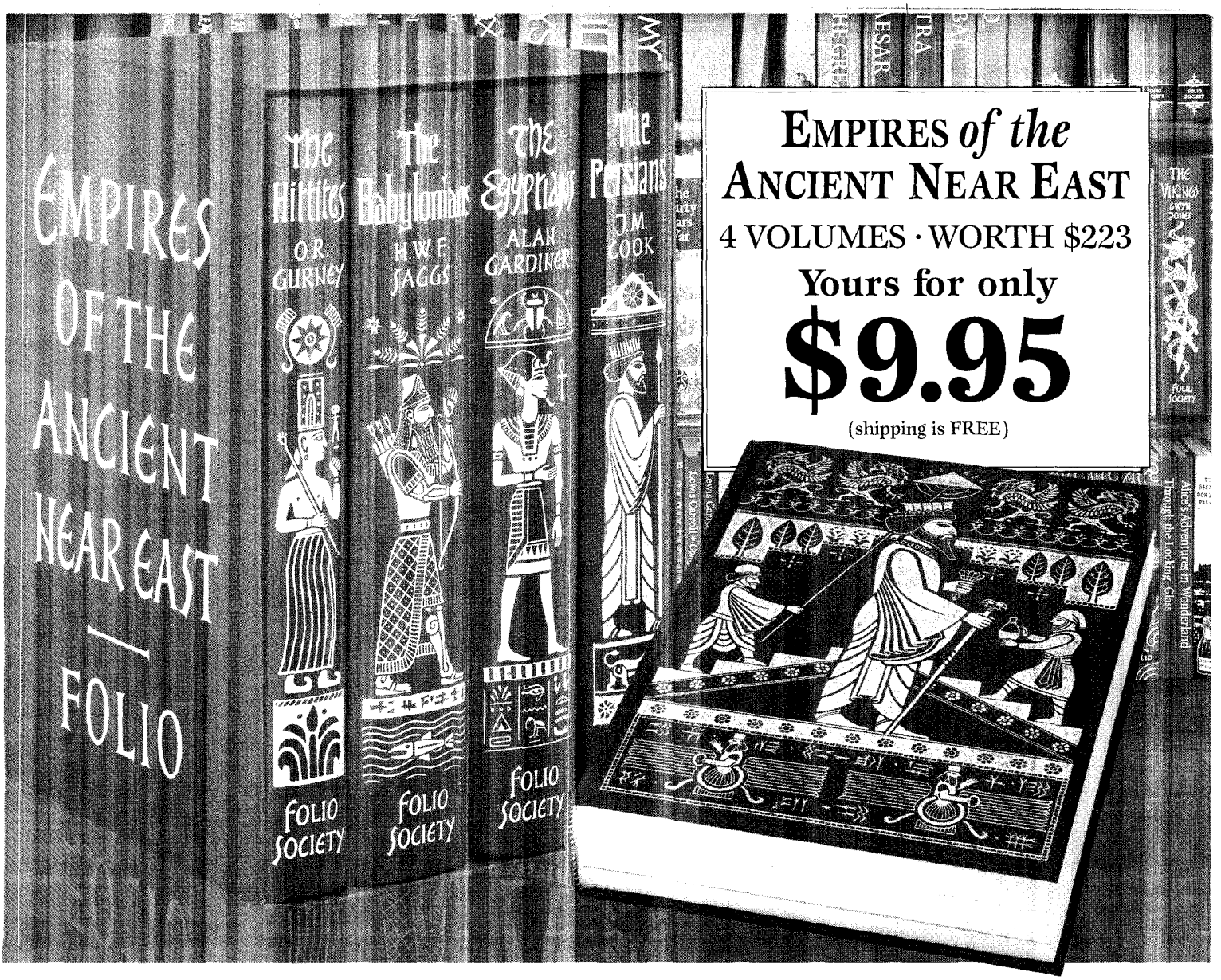
This group of justices has been together for a long time now. It has been eleven years since the last new justice was confirmed. The Court could do with an infusion of intellectual energy. Someone with heft, who already commands the respect of the other justices, would seem to be ideal, if any such jurist can be found.

The Nuclear Option

Pull that trigger, Dr. Frist;
Reid will treat you like a cyst,
As will Kennedy; but doc,
For the nonce you'd have a lock
On those judges Mr. Bush
And the base sweat blood to push.
Pull it! I'll supply the shrouds;
You just do the mushroom clouds.

—W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EMPIRES *of the* ANCIENT NEAR EAST

4 VOLUMES · WORTH $223

Yours for only

$9.95

(shipping is FREE)

As your introduction to The Folio Society, we are offering you this unique beautifully bound set – worth $223 – for just **$9.95**. Plus, you'll receive a FREE set of *The Greek Myths*, worth $87.50, which is yours to keep just for replying.

Empires of the Ancient Near East is the definitive, lavishly illustrated chronicle of the four monumental civilisations that prospered between the end of the Stone Age and the advent of Hellenistic Greece. From the invention of the wheel and the building of the earliest cities to the emergence of Persia as the first great superpower, these four volumes provide a panoramic view of the ancient world.

The Folio Society does NOT send you unsolicited books or 'choices of the month'. You simply choose four books from our catalogue to fulfill your membership.

Our current publications include history and eye-witness accounts, classic and modern fiction, short stories, notable biographies, poetry, memoirs, children's books, humour, legend and authoritative books on the classical world. Prices start as low as $32.95 and many of our books are less than $45.00.

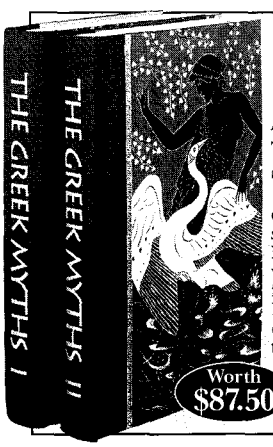
The Folio Society, established in England in 1947, is for dedicated readers who wish to rediscover the pleasure of the fine edition at an affordable price. Why not join us now with *Empires of the Ancient Near East*?

Simply fill out and return the coupon today to take advantage of this special introductory offer or call Toll Free (24 hours) on 1-800-353-0700.

The Folio Society Promise

*You will **never** be sent a book you have not ordered.*

THE FOLIO SOCIETY
P.O. Box 693, Holmes, PA 19043.



PLUS FREE

A FOLIO TWO VOLUME SET

THE GREEK MYTHS

The Greek myths are fantastic stories full of passion, adventure, suspense and tragedy. Robert Graves tells them with great verve and flair, from Ariadne and the Minotaur to the manacling of Prometheus; Jason and the Golden Fleece to the birth of Aphrodite.

'Immensely readable' FREDERIC RAPHAEL

To: The Membership Secretary, The Folio Society, P.O. Box 693, Holmes, PA 19043. Fax:1-610-532-9001.

ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-353-0700

Please accept my application for FREE trial membership of The Folio Society and send me *Empires of the Ancient Near East*, together with the Folio catalogue and my FREE set of *The Greek Myths*. If I agree to purchase at least 4 books from your catalogue I will be billed only $9.95 for *Empires of the Ancient Near East* (including shipping and handling). If I am not satisfied – for any reason – I may return the introductory set within 10 days. My membership will be cancelled and I will owe nothing. I understand that as a member of The Folio Society I have the right to return any book if I am not completely satisfied. *The Greek Myths* is mine to keep whatever I decide.

Title Name Date

BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE

Address

City State Zipcode

Telephone number

Please allow 21 days for delivery. Applications subject to approval. Send no money now. HJ5X45

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

notes & asides

■ Memo to: WFB
From: Linda

This is the tenth anniversary of the death of Bill Rickenbacker. Would you consider republishing the obit? It did him justice. And it brings to mind the book he and I co-authored.

Memo to: Linda
Herewith, in loving memory

William F. Rickenbacker, RIP

He first surfaced for us at National Review when he challenged the government of the United States. The Census Bureau had gone to work on data collected in 1960, and Bill Rickenbacker received what they called the Long Form, designed to elicit detailed information, the better to complete the decennial inquiry into which Americans were living where, earning what, doing what, living how. Bill looked at the form, put it in his wastebasket, and addressed one of his inimitable letters to the secretary of commerce, whom he addressed as "Dear Snoopchief," denouncing the long form as an invasion of his privacy. C. Dickerman Williams, National Review's distinguished lawyer, undertook his defense. WFR lost, was fined $100, and at the end of the succeeding decade, tasted finally the fruit of his struggle when the Commerce Department announced that the Long Form need be completed only by those U.S. citizens who wished to do so.

Rickenbacker came then to National Review as a senior editor, and life was wonderful in his company. He retreated after ten years or so, went into business for himself, wrote eight books, and continued his studies of music, of languages, and of the canon of Western thought.

But he never lost touch with us and in 1991, with Linda Bridges, published the book *The Art of Persuasion*. A few years ago, responding to a rebuke for his failure to visit New York more often, he wrote me, "I too wish I could move around a bit more, but I seem to have simplified my life a good deal in recent years. Three or four hours a day at the old piano will nail a fellow down good and hard. But I have dreams, dreams in full color, not to mention aroma, of lunch at Paone's [the reference is to the restaurant around the corner on 34th Street and Third Avenue, heavily patronized by National Review], which, by the way, why doesn't somebody burn it down and rebuild it up here in God's country?" The formulation of that last sentence is an inside joke, dating back to the opening sentence of an editorial written by the late Willmoore Kendall for NR. It began, "Last week at Harriman House, which by the way why doesn't somebody burn it down . . ." There was some concern not over the sentiments expressed but over the diction used, until Bill relieved us by declaring that Kendall had used an anacoluthon, defined as

> an abrupt change within a sentence to a second construction inconsistent with the first, sometimes used for rhetorical effect; for example, I warned him that if he continues to drink, what will become of him.

Bill, in his letter, went on about his schedule. "Now I'm moving steadily through the 15 volumes of the collected utterances and effusions of Edmund Burke, and the more I see of him the less I trust him. He keeps reminding me of Everett Dirksen—not that Dirksen ever reminded me of Burke."

Bill was a professionally qualified pianist. "I've recorded," he wrote me, "to my satisfaction, four short pieces of our great teacher, the Bach of Bachs. Schubert comes next, and then a dollop of Chopin. I find this project far more difficult than it was 25 years ago. Two trends have been in play: my standards have risen, and my physical capacity has fallen. When I piled up my airplane and broke a dozen bones including my right wrist, I didn't advance the cause; my right hand, if I don't pay good attention, is still in danger of being shouted down by the unruly Bolshevik in my left—a faction that gathered its preternatural strength during ten years of intensive club-gripping on the golf course." He had been captain of the golf team at Harvard. And, like his father, Captain Eddie, he flew airplanes, until glaucoma stopped him.

His curiosity was boundless. "Did you see my Unamuno in the current *Modern Age*?" The reference was to an essay he had just published. "Next comes Ortega y Gasset. I've read 21 volumes of his and am now organizing my notes. I'll probably have 60 pages of notes in preparation for an eight-page piece. I don't think the name for that is scholarship; more like idle dithering."

It seemed endless, his curiosity. "I've been studying Hebrew *very* hard and loving it all the way. A wonderful language. Since college days I've wanted to read the Psalms in Hebrew; now I shall."

He was not altogether a recluse. Last year he consented to address my brother Reid's public-speaking class in South Carolina. Reid asked how should he introduce Bill's speech. Reid sent me a copy of Bill's suggested titles:

—How I Spent My Summer
—What the North Wind Said
—Counselor Said I Couldn't Eat Dinner Till I Wrote Home
—Why I Hate My Sis
—Legalization of Crime: Pros & Cons
—Was Mozart Queer?
—Are Lasers Protected under the Fourth Amendment?
—The Bartender's Guide to the Upstairs Maid
—Merde! Golfing Decorum in Postwar France
—Public Speaking Minus One: A Tape Cassette of Wild but Intermittent Applause, with Stretches of Silence to Be Filled with Remarks by the Apprentice Orator
—Sexual Repression in Emily Dickinson's Punctuation
—Why I Am Running for President (applause)
—Why Dead White Males Don't Laugh

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—Do Hydrogen and Oxygen Look like Water? I Ask You!: Chemistry Disrobed and Shown to Be the Fraud It Is

He kept in touch with his friends. When NATIONAL REVIEW's ex-publisher Bill Rusher had his bypass operation, Rickenbacker wrote to me, "I heard from Claire [Bill Rusher's former secretary] on Monday that his bypass was sextuple, which I thought pretty damned good for a bachelor, and look forward to sending him something cheerful as soon as they take the chopsticks out of his nostrils."

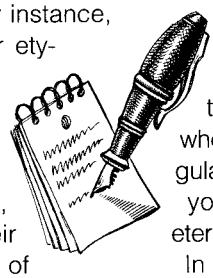
And his concern for public affairs was alive as ever. "There has been some talk of flying the flag at half mast," he wrote me, "until the Court's decision [permitting the burning of the flag] is nullified, but I don't think a gesture of mourning is in order when the battle has hardly begun. Instead, I'm flying my own flag at full mast, but upside down, in the international signal of distress. A flag that has been abandoned by its own country is certainly in distress, and I intend to fly mine upside down until the Court turns right side up."

He enjoyed always the exuberant flash of muscle that interrupted, and gave perspective to, his serenity. "I have been a grandfather for five days now and I am growing crotchety. I have told both my boys and both my stepsons that the first one calls me gramps gets a knee in the groin but I doubt if I'll be safe much longer."

Though that was correct in 1990, he wasn't safe much longer. It was last fall that the cancer came. But after the operation, he wrote to soothe me. ". . . my moribundity is no more serious than anyone else's of similar time in grade. The so-called treatment, which is in reality, as I need not tell you, a form of Florentine poisoning, offers the advective cruelty of the absence of wine. Anyway I now have two Sanskrit grammars, a matched pair, and will present one copy to [his doctor] when next I see her, which I fear will be on Monday. My hope is that she with her wise Velázquez-brown eyes will find a way to administer my Sanskrit intravenously, with a dash of curry and the faintest after-aroma of papadams. (Do you remember when our mothers could buy papadams in large flat tins from India, the cakes packed between green tobacco leaves?)"

And, a week later, a letter describing his doctor, whom he much admired. But halfway down the page, "EGGS ON FACE DEPT. When I sent you the copy of her letter, I failed to proofread it with care, and discovered later that when she says she may extend a certain life span by two or three months, she means *years*. I double-checked her on this. So relax, mon vieux: It will be longer than you think before your life and property shall be safe."

The doctor was right the first time. But Bill went on with his work. "I've been having fun writing my study of three-letter words. Since the emphasis is on their history and not their definition or use, I have elbow room in the definitions. 'Gun' for instance, which has a very peculiar etymology, I define as 'a metallic pipe through which missiles, which have been excited by chemical explosions in their fundaments, are hurled airmail to their recipients.' For the kind of people who like that sort of thing that's the sort of thing those people will like. And although I have made it a rule to exclude proper nouns, I couldn't resist 'Eli,' but I think I shall stay my mighty arm and not tell you how I defined Eli until Nancy [Bill's wife] is rich and famous."



Bill had for a while been reading religious literature, and now he wrote, "I'm reading the Pope's book. I bought a copy for each of my boys, gave one to Tommy, and held one back to read myself before giving it to Jamie. I should buy a third, because I want the book at my elbow always. It's so drenched in wisdom and experience and devotion that I can't take it in in one reading. I read sentence after sentence two or three times. What a man! Among the great souls of history, I say."

A month later, from Switzerland, I spoke with Nancy on the telephone. She had difficulty in speaking, but told me Bill had been given three or four days more to live. I asked whether I should write to him. Yes she said, giving me the fax number. I had never before written, or spoken, to someone on his deathbed, with whom circumspection was no longer possible. So I wrote to my dear and gifted friend,

"Wm, [This was our protocol, dating back three decades: All letters to one another would begin, Wm, and be signed, Wm]

"This is not the season to be jolly. Miracles do happen, Evelyn Waugh wrote in NATIONAL REVIEW, 'but it is presumptuous to anticipate them.' It will happen to us all, I brightly observe, but you should feel first the satisfaction of knowing that soon you will be in God's hand, with perhaps just a taste of Purgatory for the editorial you wrote when Bobby was killed, though I here and now vouchsafe you the indulgence I merited on declining to publish it. Second, the satisfaction of being with that wonderful Nancy in your tribulation; and third, the knowledge that those who have known you count it a singular blessing to have experienced you. I send my prayers, and my eternal affection. Wm."

In fact he lived three weeks more and, before losing the use of his writing hand, indited his own obituary—two paragraphs of biographical data, and the closing sentences:

> A bug or two showed up last fall and began to do what a bug does best, namely, to make a joke out of life's spruce intentions, and to provide a daily wage or two for journalists, whose business it is not my duty as a Christian to inquire into. Sometime between when this ink and mine go dry the bugs will have had their day . . . He leaves behind him his wife and two devoted sons, two daughters-in-law, three grandchildren, a beloved sister, an unfinished manuscript or two, and a heart filled with blessings.

May he rest in peace.

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CAPITOL HILL ■

Blowing Their Stack

The Democrats go nutso over John Bolton

BYRON YORK

WHAT is it about John Bolton, President Bush's nominee to be U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, that so upsets his critics? Sen. Christopher Dodd, a Democrat, seems unhappy that Bolton is not in jail: Bolton's handling of conflicts with subordinates, Dodd said recently, "ought to be indictable." Sen. Barbara Boxer believes Bolton needs "anger management" therapy. And Bolton's former colleague, retired State Department official Carl Ford, calls Bolton a "bully" and a "serial abuser" who kissed up to those above him on the organization chart and kicked those below.

From the myriad of charges that have been leveled against Bolton before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, two themes have emerged. The first is that he has tried to manipulate sensitive intelligence information and threatened to fire intelligence analysts who dared to disagree with him. The second is that he is an ogre, mistreating those who find themselves on the wrong side of an argument with him.

The accusations have done serious damage to Bolton's nomination, leading to a chaotic April 19 committee session in which Ohio senator George Voinovich blindsided his fellow Republicans by saying he simply didn't know enough about the charges to vote on Bolton. Voinovich wasn't alone. Despite hundreds of articles and television reports about the controversy, there has been no serious detail-by-detail examination of the basic charges against Bolton. What are they really about? Do they hold up under scrutiny? And do they say anything about Bolton's "temperament"—a favorite word among Democrats these days—for the U.N. post?

Exhibit A in the category of Bolton as intelligence manipulator is the series of events surrounding a speech that Bolton, the undersecretary of state for arms control and international security affairs, was scheduled to deliver before the Heritage Foundation in May 2002. The speech was to cover the question of rogue states and weapons of mass destruction, and in it Bolton planned to reveal the existence of a Cuban biological-weapons program, including Cuba's intention to export bioweapons technology to other countries.

The standard practice at the State Department called for Bolton to clear his proposed speech with analysts at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, better known as INR. In this case, Bolton planned to discuss information that had previously been classified, and Bolton's chief of staff, Fred Fleitz, gave the proposed language on Cuba's weapons to a veteran intelligence analyst named Christian Westermann. Westermann was then supposed to send the language to various intelligence agencies, most important the CIA's Weapons Intelligence, Nonproliferation, and Arms Control Center, or WINPAC, for clearance and declassification. According to all involved, Westermann disagreed with what Bolton proposed to say about Cuba. But what Bolton and Fleitz did not know was that when Westermann sent the proposed language to the intelligence agencies, he included alternative language of his own and wrote that "INR does not concur" with Bolton's planned statement.

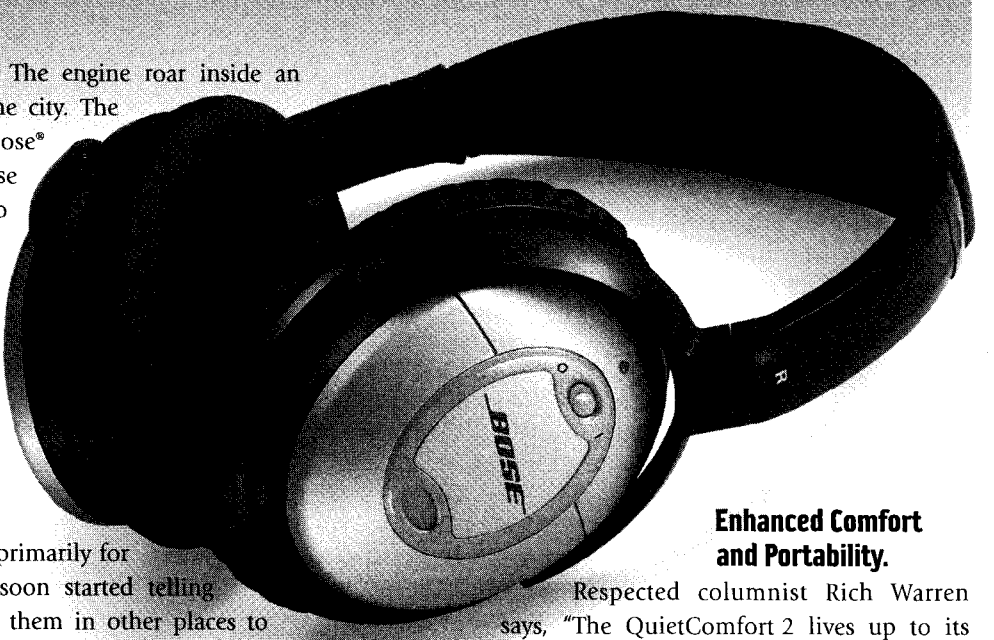
Not long afterward, Fleitz heard from WINPAC saying, in effect, "What's this? What do you want us to clear?" Confused, Fleitz got in touch with Westermann. In a deposition with committee lawyers, Fleitz stated that, "I sent him an e-mail saying, 'Christian, WINPAC tells me that . . . you sent the language to WINPAC, but with a note attached to it disputing the language

ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Quietly Setting A Whole New Standard.

Experience the unmatched combination of noise reduction and audio performance of our QuietComfort® 2 Acoustic Noise Cancelling® headphones.



Unwanted noise is everywhere. The engine roar inside an airplane cabin. The bustle of the city. The distractions in the office. Bose® QuietComfort® 2 Acoustic Noise Cancelling® headphones help them fade softly into the background. Just put them on and slip into a safe haven – where you can relax and enjoy peace and solitude or listen to your favorite music.

Proven Noise Reduction Technology.

Our headphones were designed primarily for airplane travelers. But owners soon started telling us how much they enjoy using them in other places to reduce distractions around them. QuietComfort® 2 headphones incorporate patented technology that electronically identifies and dramatically reduces noise, while faithfully preserving the music, movie dialogue or tranquility you desire. With these headphones, you can enjoy your favorite music on the go, at home, in the office – almost anyplace – and you can do so without disturbing others. *Philadelphia Daily News* says "wearing these phones creates a calming... zone for easy listening or just snoozing."

Our Best Sound Ever.

QuietComfort® 2 headphones deliver the best audio performance we've ever developed for headphones. Highs are impressively crisp and clean. Lows are deep and enveloping. Vocals are reproduced with lifelike authenticity. *Travel & Leisure Golf* reports, "Forget 'concertlike' comparisons, you'll think you're onstage with the band."

Enhanced Comfort and Portability.

Respected columnist Rich Warren says, "The QuietComfort 2 lives up to its name, enveloping you in blissful sound... It's easy to forget they're on your head." To enjoy peace and tranquility, simply turn them on. To add Bose quality sound, attach the included audio cord and connect them to a home stereo, laptop computer, portable CD/DVD/MP3 player or in-flight audio system. When you're done, their convenient fold-flat design allows for easy storage in the slim carrying case.

Experience Them for Yourself.

We don't expect you to take our word for how dramatically our headphones reduce noise, how clean and full the music sounds or how *comfortably* they fit. So we invite you to try them for 30 days, risk free. If you can live without them, return them for a full refund.

FREE EXPRESS SHIPPING when you order by May 31, 2005.

QuietComfort® 2 headphones – the new standard from Bose, the most respected name in sound.

(Mr./Ms./Mrs.) _____
Name _____ *(Please Print)*
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Day Phone _____ Evening Phone _____
E-mail (Optional) _____
Mail to: Bose Corporation, Dept. DMG-Q3960, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

To order or for a free information kit call:

1-800-430-2673, ext. Q3960

Discover all our innovative products at

www.bose.com/q3960

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2005 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. Free express shipping not to be combined with any other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes are reprinted with permission: Jonathan Takiff, *Philadelphia Daily News*, 5/29/03; *Travel & Leisure Golf*, 7/03; Rich Warren, *News-Gazette*, 5/19/03.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and asking that other language be approved instead. Is this true?'" According to Fleitz, Westermann denied having tried to substitute his own words for Bolton's. "His response was, 'I sent your language intact, I only added sources and citations to help them de-classify it,'" Fleitz said.

Fleitz asked Westermann to come to Bolton's office. By all accounts, it wasn't a happy meeting. Bolton was angry, believing that Westermann had tried to go around him to change the part of the speech involving Cuba—and then lied about it. Westermann defended himself, arguing with Bolton over the substance of the intelligence. Then, according to Fleitz, Bolton said to Westermann, "How can I trust you? I've asked you to be neutral in a situation like this, and you're welcome to disagree with me, but not behind my back."

Senate Democrats have charged that Bolton then tried to have Westermann removed from his job. On April 19, Dodd said that a number of officials had verified "that Bolton tried to fire" Westermann. But when they were questioned by committee lawyers, the story changed. In his deposition, Fleitz, an ally of Bolton's, was asked whether he ever heard Bolton say that Westermann should be fired, or reassigned, or given another portfolio. "I want to state clearly right now that Mr. Bolton never said Mr. Westermann should be fired, or removed from his job," Fleitz answered. "I never heard him say that, I don't know anybody he has said that to." Instead, Fleitz explained, Bolton said "that [Westermann] should be given a different portfolio, because he had lost Mr. Bolton's confidence."

Westermann, also testifying before committee staff, said that Bolton was extremely angry during the meeting—he said that Bolton "was yelling and screaming, and red in the face, and wagging his finger"—but was not able to confirm that Bolton tried to fire him. "Did Mr. Bolton at any time threaten your employment?" committee lawyers asked Westermann. "No," Westermann answered.

"Did Mr. Bolton at any time suggest that he would do something to cause you to lose your job?" the lawyers asked. "None of these remarks were ever directed at me," Westermann said, explaining that he had heard them from Carl Ford, who was the chief of intelligence at the State Department, and Thomas Fingar and Neil Silver, two other top intelligence officials. But none of them remembered any order to fire Westermann, although Ford thought there *might* have been one. "Now, whether the words were 'fire,' whether that was 'reassign,' 'get away from me; I don't want to see him again,' I don't remember," Ford told the committee. "I remember going back to my office with the impression that I had been asked to fire [Westermann]." Fingar told committee lawyers that he was not asked to fire Westermann and described the matter as "not a big deal." And Silver said that Bolton mentioned moving Westermann to another portfolio, but not firing him. "It wasn't in terms of firing," Silver told the committee. "I think I would remember."

The striking thing about the Democrats' case against Bolton is that most of it has little to do with the job he would do.

So Westermann wasn't fired. He wasn't disciplined. And he wasn't even reassigned; all that happened was that he and Bolton steered clear of each other. Finally, there was this exchange between one of the lawyers and Westermann:

"What was your rank in 2001?"

"I was a GS-14 [the second-highest step on the federal pay scale]."

"You're still a 14. Did you go up every step you were supposed to?"

"Yes, I received outstandings on my performance reports."

And that was what Democrats characterized as Bolton's abuse of intelligence and intelligence officers.

The other type of charge against Bolton has nothing to do with intelligence but rather with what is sometimes called his "management style." The chief example in that category is an incident that took place in Moscow in 1994 involving a woman named Melody Townsel, who was working for the Agency for International Development (AID) on a development contract in Kyrgyzstan. Actually, Townsel worked for a subcontractor doing work for another company, International Business and Technical Consultants (IBTC), which had a contract with the agency; she had several billing disputes with the company, and Bolton, then a lawyer in private practice, was hired to represent IBTC.

According to Townsel, Bolton came to Moscow, where she was staying in a hotel, and harassed her mercilessly. She wrote an open letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that said, "When I was dispatching a letter to AID, my hell began. Mr. Bolton proceeded to chase me through the halls of a Russian hotel, throwing things at me, shoving threatening letters under my door, and genuinely behaving like a madman. I eventually retreated to my hotel room and stayed there. Mr. Bolton then routinely visited me to pound on the door and shout threats."

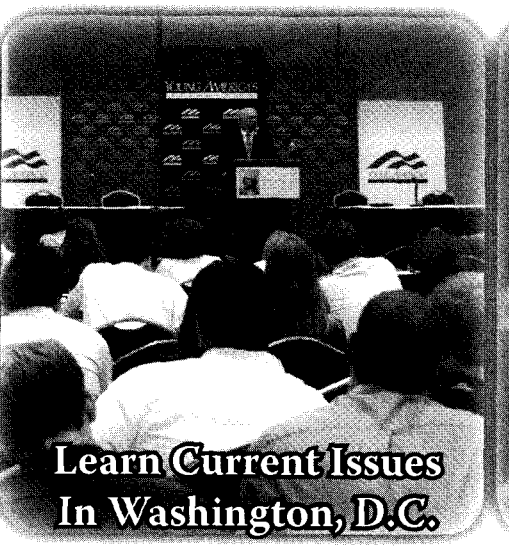
It seems clear that something happened in Moscow, most likely that Townsel and Bolton had some sort of unpleasant exchange. But there is no evidence that it was the chasing, throwing, out-of-control affair that Townsel described. In fact, the head of IBTC, a man named Jayant Kalotra, wrote a letter to the committee saying that Townsel's story was "impossible to square with fact." "I certainly did not hear, contemporaneously, from any other employee in Moscow that anything occurred between Mr. Bolton and Ms. Townsel in Moscow," Kalotra wrote. He also wrote that Townsel's "claims against Mr. Bolton make no sense, but are consistent with her belligerent attitude toward others," and that she "attempted unsuccessfully to charge the U.S. government for disallowable costs" and "became enraged" when company officials questioned her about it.

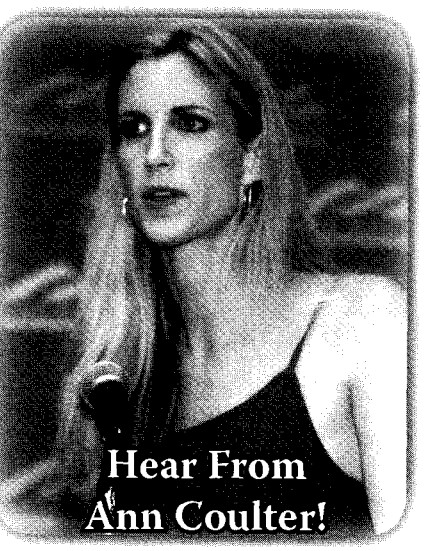
Then there was the question of Townsel's possible partisan motive. A member of the left-wing group Mothers Opposing Bush, Townsel gave her letter to the influential left-wing website DailyKos.com, where it was posted in full before the committee made it public. That same day, she appeared on the liberal Air America radio network to discuss her charges. "I make no secret of the fact that I am an extremely liberal and vocal Democrat," Townsel said, although she denied that that played a role in her decision to attack Bolton.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I thought I was the only conservative on a campus of leftists, but then...

"7 Days Changed My Life Forever"





27th National Conservative Student Conference

George Washington University, Washington, D.C., July 31 - August 6, 2005

If you are looking to **learn more about conservative ideas** and **spend time with other conservative students**, Young America's Foundation offers an intensive **seven-day conference in Washington, D.C.** where you will hear about the principles and ideas that define contemporary conservatism from the **biggest stars** including author **Ann Coulter**, author **Michelle Malkin**, and economist **Walter Williams**.

Through a series of lectures, discussions, and policy briefings, you will learn about American history, free market economics, individual freedom and responsibility, and the conservative side of today's pressing issues. Get the latest on the **terrorists' war on America**, detailed analysis about **social security reform**, reports on **free speech on campus**, and more!

- **Meet and ask questions** of your conservative heroes
- Gain a **better understanding** of conservative principles
- **Meet other like-minded students** from across the country
- **Receive valuable resource materials** including conservative recommended reading, movie, and organization lists
- Improve your **critical thinking** and debate skills
- Hear the side of **pressing issues** not presented on your campus
- **Learn how** to bring the Movement's leaders to your school

NR Readers Save $50*

All your housing, food, materials, and tuition will be covered by your nominal registration fee! *Plus, **you'll receive an additional $50 off** your already low attendee rates simply by using the **promo code NR01** when registering.

There is no better event for college conservatives! **Don't miss out on this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, which can change your life!**

Visit www.yaf.org or call 800-USA-1776 to register!
Space is limited for this popular event!

High School Students! Attend our popular **National High School Leadership Conference**, July 7-10, 2005 at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. Call **800-USA-1776** or visit **www.yaf.org** for more information about this great program!

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

Young America's Foundation
800-USA-1776 • www.yaf.org

National Headquarters, F.M. Kirby Freedom Center, 110 Elden Street, Herndon, Virginia 20170
The Reagan Ranch, 217 State Street, Santa Barbara, California 93101

© Copyright 2005 Young America's Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coupled with the lack of evidence to support her claim, Townsel's partisanship casts doubt on the entire Moscow hotel matter. But her story was widely reported in the press, often with the Democratic suggestion that it somehow disqualified Bolton to serve as ambassador to the U.N. And the reporting often ignored Bolton's side of the story. For example, at least as of May 3, Townsel's connection to Mothers Opposing Bush had never been mentioned in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*, or on ABC, NBC, or CBS.

The striking thing about the Democrats' case is that most of it has little to do with the job Bolton, a vocal critic of the U.N., would do if he were confirmed. That's not an accident. President Bush nominated Bolton to take a firm line toward the U.N., an institution now mired in scandal and in urgent need of reform, and Democrats know it would not be politically popular to oppose that. "We can't argue that this guy is unfit just because he's said mean things about the U.N.," one "top Senate Democrat" told *Time* magazine. "Don't forget, most Americans agree with him."

The Democratic attacks also seem to be based, at least in part, in other agendas. They know that they can fit complaints about Bolton's alleged manipulations of intelligence—which do not involve Iraq—into accusations that the Bush administration tinkered with evidence before the war. By attacking Bolton, they can keep hammering Bush, even when the situation in Iraq is improving.

Democrats would also dearly love to get a high-level Bush scalp, to further their general plan to turn the president into a lame duck early in his second term. Still, Bolton's toughness, for the president, is what makes John Bolton the man for the job at the U.N. "John Bolton is a blunt guy," Bush said at his April 28 news conference. "And if we expect the United Nations to be effective, it needs to clean up its problems. And I think it makes sense to have somebody representing the United States who will—who will be straightforward about the issues."

But that kind of bluntness, while often enormously productive, makes enemies. And in John Bolton's case, they've all come out to try to bring him down. **NR**

■ **BRITAIN**

State of the Cousins

What the British elections mean for the U.S.

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

AMERICANS are accustomed to thinking of Britain as their most reliable ally, always there in a crisis. Broadly speaking that has been true since 1941—and mutual. With the exception of a few wobbles like Suez and Edward Heath's refusal of landing rights to U.S. planes supplying arms to Israel in the Yom Kippur war, the Brits have shared a common approach with the U.S. on defense policy, intelligence cooperation, nuclear weapons, trade liberalization, and much else. Margaret Thatcher's backing for Reagan's Libyan raid and Tony Blair's commitment of British forces to the Iraq war strengthened this habitual cooperation. There was even government-to-government agreement for much of the time on the desirability of Britain's joining the European Union to frustrate any tendency the latter might show toward anti-Americanism. By and large this mix of policies worked well.

It is now threatened, however, by three developments: the rise of anti-Americanism in British politics, a growing anti-Americanism in continental Europe, and the EU's moves toward a common foreign policy. It is the first of these that is the main topic of this article.

Traditional anti-Americanism in Britain has been of two kinds: a left-wing political anti-Americanism rooted in anti-capitalism, and a right-wing hostility based on the decline of British power and the resentment at being displaced by the U.S. Neither was politically important; both were easily contained. But a much more dangerous, complicated, and surprising situation developed in the recent election campaign: Tony Blair's handling of the Iraq war midwifed the birth of a powerful anti-Americanism of the center-Left.

I write somewhat perilously, for two reasons. First, it is now two days *before* the May 5 election, so the outcome is unknown; and second, it irks Americans to hear criticism of Blair on the topic of the war. Unfortunately, however, Blair did make a series of mistakes in presenting the case for war. He justified it almost entirely by reference to Saddam Hussein's stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. He neglected justifications drawn from specifically British national interests. He claimed without qualification that the war was legal under international law. And at times he implied that he had obtained concessions from President Bush—such as seeking a second U.N. resolution and putting pressure on Israel to make concessions to the Palestinians—in return for Britain's willingness to take part in the invasion.

Since then, of course, the WMD stockpiles were found not to exist (or to be elsewhere). Leaks of the attorney general's advice on the war's legality show that it was full of qualifications and caveats. The second U.N. resolution got nowhere. And Israeli concessions to the Palestinian Authority, whatever their other merits, hardly amount to a specifically British interest. So the retrospective impression of Blair's justifications is as follows: He manipulated Britain into signing up for an illegal American war that had nothing to do with his own country's interests and on grounds that turned out to be false.

This impression grew more powerful in the course of the campaign, as a cascade of official leaks from Whitehall drenched the front pages. One top-secret document recording a meeting between the prime minister and his senior national security advisers showed the foreign secretary conceding that the case for war was "thin" and that Saddam Hussein had a lesser WMD capability than Libya and others; an intelligence head, "C," reporting that in Washington the policy was driving the intelligence; and Blair himself suggesting that the British people might be persuaded to accept a "regime change" that his own senior law officers were telling him was unlawful.

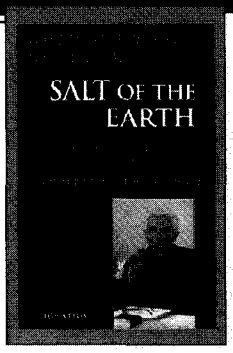
It is hardly surprising if many Brits resent what seems to be a policy of deceiving the British people in order to truckle to the Yanks. That impression is false. And it could be countered by a firm statement of the full case for liberating Iraq in the lan-

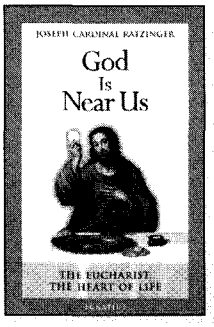
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

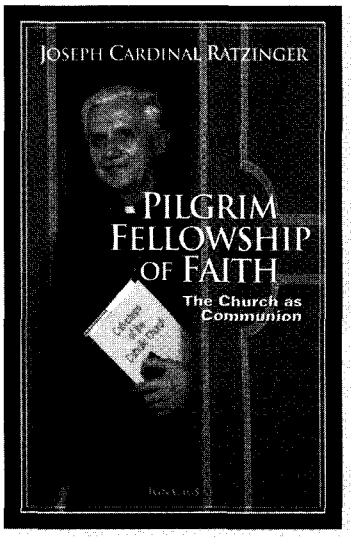
TOP TITLES FROM

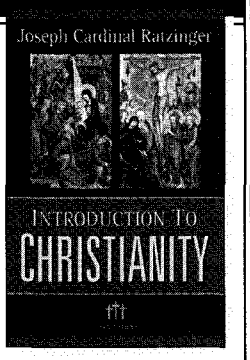
POPE BENEDICT XVI

JOSEPH CARDINAL RATZINGER









SALT OF THE EARTH

Ratzinger gives a full-length interview to journalist Peter Seewald on a host of controversial and important issues facing Catholicism at the end of the Millennium. His responses are full of candor and insight, surprising and always thought-provoking.

SOE-P . . . 283 pp, Softcover, $12.95

GOD IS NEAR US

The Eucharist: The Heart of Life

Ratzinger compellingly shows us the biblical, historical, and theological dimensions of the Eucharist. He emphasizes the importance of one's personal devotion to and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, as well as for the life of the Church. He beautifully illustrates how the omnipotent God comes intimately close to us in the Holy Eucharist, the Heart of Life.

GIN-P . . . 160 pp, Sewn Softcover, $12.95

PILGRIM FELLOWSHIP OF FAITH

On the occasion of the Cardinal's seventy-fifth birthday, his former students have selected essays, lectures, and letters that Ratzinger has written in recent years—writing that they feel best represents the position of the Cardinal on issues of theology, the modern world, secularism, non-Christian religions, and other key topics of the Catholic Church.

PFF-P . . . 340 pp, Sewn Softcover, $17.95

MILESTONES - *Memoirs: 1927-1977*

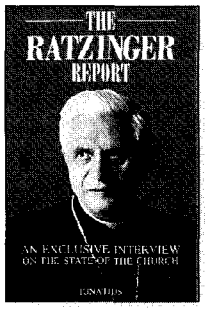
Rich in humor, culture, passion and love of God and of man, *Milestones* is the autobiography of one of the most influential men in the Church. Tells of his family life, the years of Nazi oppression, his academic path, and his participation in the Vatican Council.

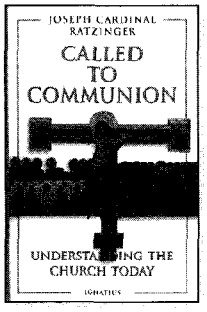
MILE-P . . . 160 pp, Sewn Softcover, $12.95

INTRODUCTION TO CHRISTIANITY

A newly revised second edition with an improved translation and an in-depth 20 page preface by the Cardinal. This remarkable elucidation gives an excellent, modern interpretation of the foundations of Christianity. Ratzinger's profound treatment of Christianity's basic truths combines a deep knowledge of Scripture and theology.

INCH2-P . . . 300 pages, Sewn Softcover, $16.95





THE RATZINGER REPORT

Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger with Vittorio Messori

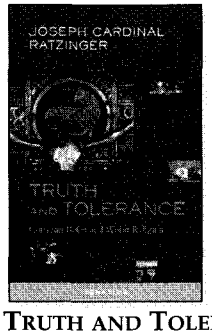
In this famous interview, Ratzinger speaks candidly about the state of the church in the post-Vatican II era.

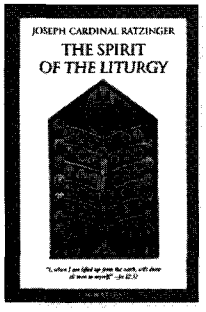
RR-P . . . 197 pp, Sewn Softcover, $10.95

CALLED TO COMMUNION

A book of wisdom and insight from the eminent Cardinal Ratzinger on the trials and tribulations the Church is enduring today. He discusses Papal Primacy, the true nature of the Priesthood, the Eucharist, value of suffering, role of the Bishops, importance of the laity, and much more.

CTC-P . . . 162 pp, Sewn Softcover, $11.95





TRUTH AND TOLERANCE

Christian Belief and World Religions

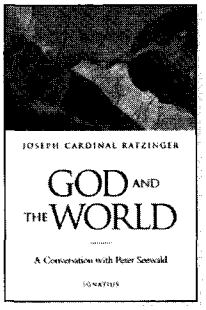
Ratzinger embraces the difficult challenge of meeting diverse understandings of spiritual truth while defending the Catholic teaching of salvation through Jesus Christ. A work of extreme sensitivity and spiritual maturity.

TTCB-P . . . 280 pp, Sewn Softcover, $15.95

THE SPIRIT OF THE LITURGY

This profound and beautifully written treatment of the "great prayer of the Church" offers Ratzinger's insights on the Liturgy to help readers rediscover the hidden spiritual wealth of the Liturgy as the center of our Christian life. He presents solid theological reasons for everything done in the Mass and in the Sacraments.

SPIL-H . . . 250 pp, Sewn Hardcover, $17.95



GOD AND THE WORLD

Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger & Peter Seewald

Ratzinger presented this in-depth interview with journalist Seewald that addresses the questions of faith in the modern world.

GODW-P . . . 460 pp, Sewn Softcover, $18.95

DAUGHTER OF ZION

Meditations on the Church's Marian Belief

Ratzinger explores the biblical witness to the Church's Marian dogmas — Mary's role as Mother of God, her virginity, the Immaculate Conception, and her Assumption into heaven. He shows how these beliefs are linked to the Church's faith in Jesus Christ.

DZ-P . . . 85 pp, Sewn Softcover, $9.95

WWW.IGNATIUS.COM

ignatius press P.O. Box 1339, Ft. Collins, CO 80522

1 (800) 651-1531

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

guage of British patriotism. As a progressive internationalist, however, Blair finds it difficult to make that case because it would mean, *inter alia*, attacking the idea that international law and the International Criminal Court should usher in a new age of global legal governance. Blair believes in that. Patriotic language, meanwhile, sits uneasily in his mouth because he thinks Britain's nationalism is an obstacle to its modernizing, European destiny. As a result he denounces attacks on his Iraq policy as staining his personal honor—which, at this point, simply invites a horselaugh.

An anti-American atmosphere thus suffused the campaign. But how will it influence post-election politics? The strongest anti-war (and, not coincidentally, the most pro-EU) party is the Liberal Democrat party headed by Charles Kennedy. The Lib-Dems opposed the war from the start and stand to benefit substantially from the current anti-war and anti-American mood. As a third party, they have no chance of becoming the government—and only a very slender chance of replacing the Tories as the second-largest party. If they make major gains, however, they could then become an anti-American "pole" in British politics dragging center-Left opinion in their direction. And in a "hung parliament" they would choose the governing party and prime minister.

Patriotic language sits uneasily in Blair's mouth because he thinks Britain's nationalism is an obstacle to its modernizing, European destiny.

The Tories remain the most reliable pro-American party, despite Karl Rove's snubbing of them because of their attacks on Bush's ally and personal friend, Tony Blair. Those attacks (niggling criticisms, rather) were indeed a mistake. They gave the impression that the Tories were soft on a war they had supported. In the course of the campaign, however, Tory leader Michael Howard dispelled such fears with an impressive argument that the Iraq war was justifiable even if Saddam Hussein lacked WMDs and that he would have supported it in those circumstances. If the Tories were to astonish the world by winning, there would be a few moments of regret and embarrassment in the White House—but Anglo-American cooperation would resume immediately afterwards, and it would be all the stronger because the Tories would resist further absorption into a common EU foreign and defense policy (always assuming that Condoleezza Rice did not bully them into going along with it).

Labour is a more complicated matter. The majority of its new members will likely be thoroughly hostile to Blair, passionately pro-European, and barely disguised in their anti-Americanism. If Blair gets a respectable majority, he will want to remain prime minister against the wishes of his party. He will thus be strongly tempted to appease his hostile followers by adopting policies that are not anti-American per se but that have anti-American implications. He can do so with reasonable consistency by pushing strongly for the ratification of the European constitution, shifting military resources from NATO to the EU defense structure, and embracing a common European foreign policy with few or no qualifications. Over time that would force Britain to choose between Europe and America—something Blair has said he would never do—and Labour with or without Blair would undoubtedly choose Europe. It might therefore be better for the U.S., and for Blair's own historical reputation, if he did not remain prime minister.

Finance minister Gordon Brown would succeed him in almost any foreseeable circumstances. Almost all commentators, myself included, have written in the past that Brown is a dour Old Labour stalwart who would likely drift back toward more interventionist and left-wing policies at home and abroad. On the principle of Ockham's razor, that remains the simplest and therefore best prediction. But there are aspects of Brown's political personality that point in other and more interesting directions. He is a devout Christian, a son of the Manse, who had his infant daughter baptized shortly before her early death.

He is thought to be more skeptical of Europe than Blair—in part because his main economic achievement, granting independence to the Bank of England, would be negated if Britain joined the euro, and in part because he is unimpressed by the EU's economic performance. He and his main adviser, new MP Ed Balls, are admirers of the flexibility, variety, and innovation not only of the U.S. economy but also of American welfare provision. (Brown visits the U.S. annually.) All these tendencies converge in Brown's interest in giving religious and other community groups a role in welfare policy. Sound familiar?

British Tories would respond that all these virtues will inevitably fall victim to Brown's control-freakery. He has forced British universities, for instance, to bring in quotas that limit places for children from independent schools in order to reach the "right" social outcome. So much for variety, experimentation, and flexibility. For the U.S., however, a new, confident Brown might be a better ally against anti-Americanism than a weakened Blair.

The stakes are certainly high. Anti-Americanism in continental Europe is no longer a vulgar mob passion; it is the new religion of the social-democratic political elites. Among the EU governments that embrace it are France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Spain. Italy is likely to join them next year when, if current polls are any guide, the pro-American Silvio Berlusconi will be replaced as prime minister by the Europhiliac Romano Prodi. If Britain were to join this anti-American coalition of the unwilling, it would remove all doubt that the EU had become an ideological competitor and rival to the U.S. in world politics. And if the European constitution with its common foreign policy were to be ratified, it would fix that anti-Americanism as a permanent element in Europe's new political identity.

In the long term, we probably need a major public-diplomacy campaign to counter these trends. As the Australian Peter Coleman, author of *The Liberal Conspiracy*, said in London recently: "I used to think we needed another Congress of Cultural Freedom aimed at the Islamic world. I now realize that it is at least as urgent to establish one aimed at Europe for the second time." In the short term, maybe the U.S. will have to choose between Gordon Brown discreetly backed by Michael Howard over and against Tony Blair pressed hard by Charles Kennedy.

At least that's how it looked before the election. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

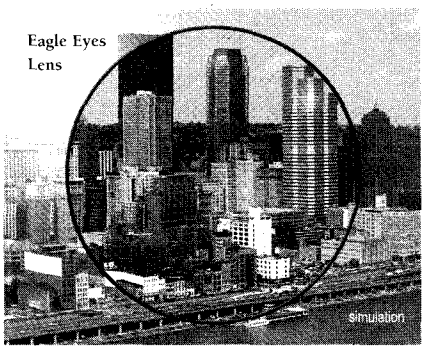
To some, sunglasses are a fashion accessory...

But When Driving, These Sunglasses May Save Your Life!

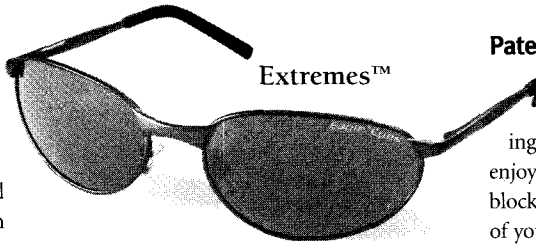
Driving can expose you to more dangerous glare than any sunny summer day at the beach can...do you know how to protect yourself? An amazing breakthrough in optic technology by NASA called Eagle Eyes® can be your answer. The sun rises and sets at peak travel periods, during the early morning and afternoon rush hours. Many drivers find themselves temporarily blinded as they are driving directly into the glare of the sun. Deadly accidents are regularly caused by such blinding glare. Danger can come from reflected light off of another vehicle, from the pavement, or any other reflective surface. Early morning frost or dew can exacerbate this situation. Salted or snowy road conditions can make matters even worse. Yet, motorists struggle on despite being blinded by the sun's glare and cause countless accidents every year.

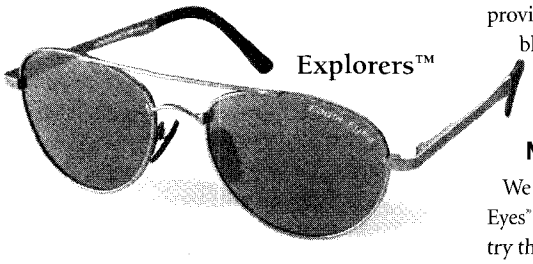
Beware of windshield glare!

This glare-induced "blindness" is especially prevalent in the early morning or late in the afternoon, and due to the extremely reflective qualities of other cars. Even your windshield can make matters worse because of small scratches that can increase reflected glare. This powerful glare of the sun can be damaging to the various layers of the eye. Certain road conditions can raise the amount of UV that you are exposed to by up to 85%.



Slip on a pair of Eagle Eyes and everything instantly appears more vivid and sharp. You'll immediately notice that your eyes are more comfortable and relaxed and you'll feel no need to squint. The scientifically designed sunglasses are not just fashion accessories—they are necessary to protect your eyes from those harmful rays produced by the sun in many peak driving times.

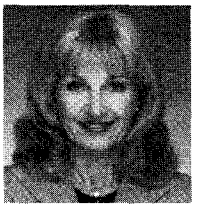




OFFICIAL NASA SPINOFF TECHNOLOGY COMPANY

*Eagle Eyes are patented, officially recognized NASA Spinoff technology and are on display at NASA's Houston Space Visitors Center.

"*As a board certified ophthalmologist, I recommend Eagle Eyes to all my patients to protect and enhance their vision!*



—*Dr. Lyda D. Tymiak*"

NASA's researchers looked to nature for a solution.

Conventional sunglasses can actually blur your vision by allowing harmful UV, blue light rays, and reflective glare in. They can also darken useful, vision-enhancing light rays. At NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory scientists looked to nature for a solution by studying the eyes of eagles, known for their extreme visual acuity. The result of this breakthrough technology is Eagle Eyes®. NASA's researchers studied how eagles can simultaneously distinguish their prey from their surroundings with utmost precision, while protecting their eyes from the daily exposure of harmful high-energy sunlight. These studies led to revolutionary protection for human eyesight.

Patented triple filtering lens system.

With a patented triple filtering system, Eagle Eyes® will reduce the blinding glare you may encounter while driving or enjoying outside activities. The lenses will also block the UV light while enhancing the colors of your surrounding environment. Eagle Eyes® provides 100% eye protection from harmful blue, violet and ultraviolet light rays. You can experience enhanced visual acuity, even at great distances in most weather conditions.

Not just one pair.

We are so anxious for you to try the Eagle Eyes® breakthrough technology that when you try the Eagle Eyes® Extremes™ we will give you the Explorers™ FREE! That's two ways to protect your eyes and prevent blinding glare for less than the price of one pair of traditional sunglasses. You'll also receive one hard leatherette case and one soft cloth pouch so you can carry and protect your Eagle Eyes® in style. Plus, if you are not thrilled with the Eagle Eyes® technology, just send them back for a full refund of the purchase price. You should always have a pair of sunglasses available when you drive, so put Eagle Eyes® in all of your cars and start seeing the world without the dangerous squinting and with more clarity than you've ever imagined.

Eagle Eyes® Sunglasses
Extremes™ *only* $49.95 +S&H

Receive the Explorers™ absolutely FREE!—2 pair for the price of one!

Universal Clip-ons available for $29.95 +S&H

Promotional Code EGL145-03
Please mention this when you call.

Call to order toll-free, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

800-859-1802

NEXTTEN
14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. EGL145-03 Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For information on all our products:
www.NextTen.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE MIDDLE EAST

Out of Lebanon

And Bashar Assad may find himself out of power

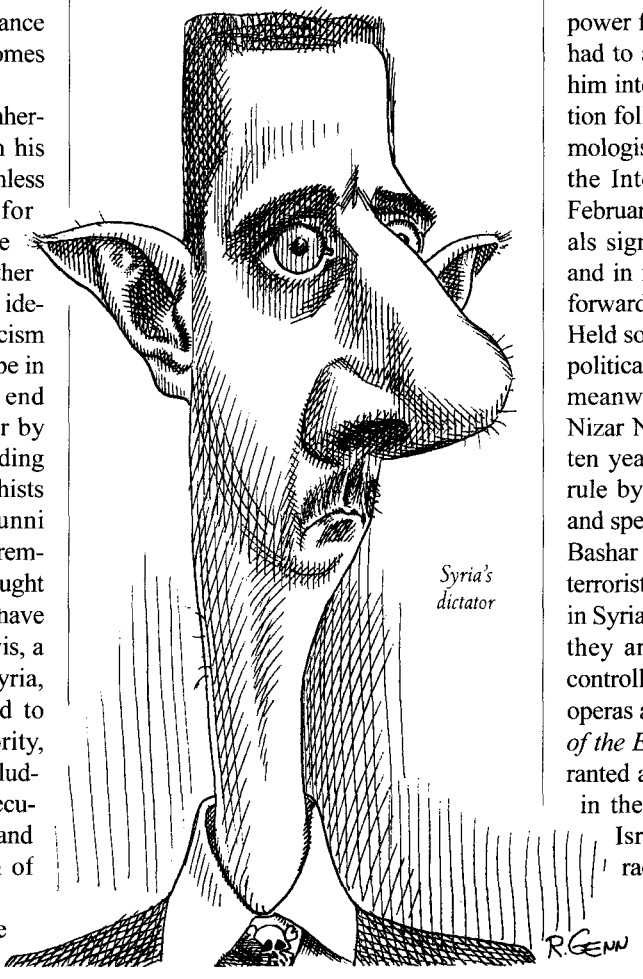
DAVID PRYCE-JONES

PRESIDENT Bashar Assad of Syria is discovering that these are difficult times for Arab dictators. Intense American pressure, supported for once by the United Nations and even by Russia and France, has obliged him to pull his troops out of Lebanon. This is a signal defeat for power politics as practiced in the Arab world, and it leaves Bashar in the eye of the rising storm. Somehow he has to find a way of converting evident weakness and surrender into strength, or at least the appearance of it. Otherwise his own downfall comes next.

To make things harder for him, he inherited Syria and all its problems from his father Hafez, an Arab dictator as ruthless as any, in his day a match even for Saddam Hussein. Symmetrically, one of these men invaded Kuwait, the other invaded Lebanon. Both professed the ideology of Baathism, a mishmash of racism and nationalism borrowed from Europe in the age of the dictators, and whose end is the promotion of absolute power by all available means, naturally including crime. Saddam and his fellow Baathists were almost all from the Iraqi Sunni minority determined to maintain supremacy over the Shiite majority; now brought to account for it, they will no longer have absolute power. The Assads are Alawis, a minority of perhaps 15 percent in Syria, and they too have been determined to maintain supremacy over the majority, who in this case are Sunnis. These excluded majorities demand redress for persecution, and the justice that is their due, and of course some among them dream of revenge.

A wiser man than Bashar might have understood the significance of that scene when an unshaven and disordered Saddam was dragged out of his underground hiding place. Baathism was exploded that day, and it was time to escape the falling wreckage of the old absolute order. Instead Bashar gave shelter to Iraqi Baathists, and Iraqi television has been showing interviews with captured terrorists who explain that Syrian officers—whose names they provide—trained and dispatched them to attack Iraq.

The murder in February this year of Rafik Hariri was a conventional, so to speak normal, Baathist act. Previously willing to take orders from Damascus, he had drawn the obvious conclusion from the overthrow of Saddam that the moment had arrived to assert Lebanon's sovereignty, and he would make this his program in elections due to be held by the end of May. Summoned like a servant by Bashar to a short and sticky meeting in Damascus, he told colleagues on his return that he expected now to be killed. Nobody doubts that Bashar or one of his many agencies was responsible.



ROMAN GENN

For 29 long years, the Syrian occupation of Lebanon proved an exercise in serial violence against the country's various communities, whether Christian or Druze, Palestinian or Shiite. Together with the Iranian ayatollahs in a move characteristic of these power politics, Hafez Assad sponsored Hezbollah. Acquiring a hold in southern Lebanon, Hezbollah serves multiple purposes, as a proxy for Iran and Syria, as a political party for Shiites now within reach of power, as a terrorist organization, and as a standing threat to Israel—Iran has armed it with thousands of medium-range rockets. Gibran Tueni, one of the most respected Lebanese intellectuals, was speaking for most of his countrymen when he wrote in 2000 that Syria's presence had brought nothing but "periodic military and political disputes." Whoever stood in Syria's way—presidents, politicians, journalists—has been murdered. All were intimidated. Thousands of Lebanese have disappeared, and one source reports that still today 176 Lebanese political prisoners are in Syrian jails.

Bashar was only 34 when he came to power five years ago. His father's cronies had to amend the constitution to railroad him into the presidency. Wishful speculation followed: He was young, an ophthalmologist by training, and would introduce the Internet and discussion groups. In February 2004, over a thousand intellectuals signed a petition against absolutism and in favor of democratizing. Each step forward has also entailed a step backward. Held sometimes for 30 years, hundreds of political prisoners have been released, but meanwhile a human-rights activist like Nizar Nayouf has received a sentence of ten years. Bashar maintains his father's rule by emergency law, arbitrary arrest, and special courts without right of appeal. Bashar has also allowed a dozen assorted terrorist organizations to train and operate in Syria, and asks the world to believe that they are only PR agencies. The state-controlled media put out anti-Semitic soap operas as well as editions of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and Bashar himself ranted against Jews at a press conference in the presence of Pope John Paul II. Israel, he has said, is "even more racist than the Nazis."

The United States has long been building to a confrontation with Syria, as evidenced by the im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

position of sanctions and by the Syria Accountability Act. Hariri paid with his life because he could see how the wind is blowing, but other Lebanese politicians of all communities and faiths have also been backing away from Syria. This said, is Lebanon in fact regaining its independence? Do the photographs of smiling Syrian paratroopers on the buses going home, and of Syrian generals saluting flags lowered for the last time, reflect reality or the kind of staged charades inherent in this type of power politics? Senior intelligence and security officers, compromised by taking Syrian orders in the past, have fled to Paris, where troubled Lebanese habitually seek refuge. The Syrian Reform Party, a pressure group of Syrian democrats based in Washington, has issued a news release stating that Rami Makhlouf, a cousin and business partner of Bashar's, has transferred hundreds of millions of dollars outside the country—Saddam Hussein's cousins and partners were doing the same in their time. Is that a sign of consolidation or collapse?

There are also conflicting reports that Syrian military intelligence has taken up new positions south of Beirut and elsewhere, and that Syrian agents and informers—perhaps several thousand of them—remain embedded in political parties and institutions in a position to influence events. A million Syrians are said to work in Lebanon, and according to unofficial estimates Syria makes out of Lebanon $4 billion a year, or the equivalent of a fifth of its gross domestic product. Highly placed Syrians with connections to Bashar and the core of the old Baathist regime control the drug trade and associated racketeering in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. As Condoleezza Rice expressed it in the idiom of diplomacy, "With a country like Syria there is always non-transparent activity."

Bashar too could slip away to Paris and hope to catch up with Rami Makhlouf's millions, or resume his ophthalmological career in London. Reform at this point is hardly an option, because it is so long overdue that any attempt to mitigate the police state is bound to be interpreted as a sign of weakness, which is the moment of opportunity for every ambitious would-be successor. Traditionally, such struggles culminate in a coup, and Syria experienced an uninterrupted series of them before the Assad dynasty took control.

Repression and violence are the absolute ruler's habitual tools. The secret police have already shot dead a score of Kurds in Qamishli and elsewhere demonstrating for autonomy on the lines of Iraqi Kurds. And in Lebanon Bashar can hope to activate those stay-behind agents to set the ethnic and religious communities against each other, in effect reviving the Lebanese civil war that contributed religiously inspired terror and the suicide bomber to the practices of the region. A couple of bombs have already exploded in Beirut. Hezbollah is waiting in the wings, and Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, its leader in Lebanon, likes to emphasize that he is at the head of "a resistance movement and not a militia." Hezbollah, he also claims, is driving Israel to retreat, and it could do Bashar's dirty work—and precipitate fighting—by firing some of those rockets when and if the Israelis leave Gaza as planned. Hafez Assad was a master of black arts of that kind, but in the post-Baathist world a hand-me-down reprise of them may not be enough to save Bashar. **NR**

■ **THE NATION**

The Doctor Is Not a Criminal

A painful drug-war case in Virginia

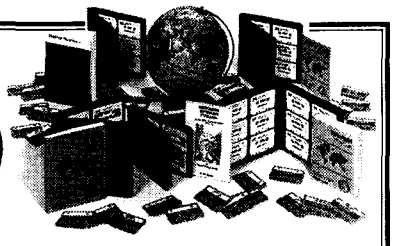
JACOB SULLUM

In December, after a federal jury convicted Virginia pain doctor William Hurwitz of running a drug-trafficking operation, the jury's foreman made a puzzling comment to the *Washington Post*: "He wasn't running a criminal enterprise." Hurwitz, who was sentenced to 25 years in

Mr. Sullum, a senior editor at *Reason* and a syndicated columnist, is the author of *Saying Yes: In Defense of Drug Use.*

Learn Another Language on Your Own!

Now order on CD's or Cassettes



Learn to speak a foreign language fluently on your own and at your own pace with what are considered the finest in-depth courses available. Many were developed by U.S. Department of State for diplomatic personnel who must learn a language quickly and thoroughly. Emphasis is on learning to speak and to understand the spoken language. A typical course (equivalent to a college semester) includes an album of 10 to 12 CD's or audio cassettes (10 to 18 hours), recorded by native-born speakers, plus a 250-page textbook. Some of our courses:

☐ Albanian	$175	☐ German II	$175	☐ Mandarin	$225	☐ Swahili	$175
☐ Arabic, Saudi	$225	☐ Greek	$225	☐ Norwegian	$165	☐ Swedish	$245
☐ Egyptian	$225	☐ Haitian	$245	☐ Persian	$225	☐ Tagalog	$325
☐ Iraqi	$125	☐ Hebrew	$285	☐ Polish	$225	☐ Thai	$245
☐ Bulgarian	$295	☐ Hindi	$175	Portuguese,		☐ Tibetan	$295
☐ Cantonese	$225	☐ Hungarian	$245	☐ Brazilian	$275	☐ Turkish	$255
☐ Catalan	$245	☐ Italian I	$225	☐ European	$175	☐ Ukrainian	$245
☐ Czech	$175	☐ Italian II	$225	☐ Romanian	$175	☐ Vietnamese	$275
☐ Danish	$175	☐ Japanese	$225	☐ Russian	$295		
☐ Dutch	$175	☐ Korean	$245	☐ Serbo-Croatian	$245		
☐ Finnish	$225	☐ Lakota	$225	☐ Slovak	$245		
☐ French I	$225	☐ Latin	$195	☐ Spanish, European	$175		
☐ French II	$245	☐ Latvian	$245	☐ Latin American I	$225		
☐ German I	$225	☐ Lithuanian	$185	☐ Latin American II	$185		

Brief courses:
☐ Azerbaijani, $75
☐ Indonesian, $75
☐ Kurdish, $55
☐ Scots Gaelic, $90
☐ Uzbek $75

You can order now with a full **3-week money-back guarantee.** To order call **toll-free 1-800-243-1234, toll-free fax 1-888-453-4329**, (203) 245-0195, e-mail: info@audioforum.com, or mail check or money order. Ask for our **FREE** 52-page *Whole World Language Catalog* with courses in 103 languages. Our 32nd year.

AUDIO-FORUM®
THE LANGUAGE SOURCE
Room W504,
1 Orchard Park Rd.,
Madison, CT 06443
www.audioforum.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prison on April 14, was charged with drug trafficking because some of his patients abused or sold the narcotic painkillers he prescribed for them. Calling him a "major and deadly drug dealer," prosecutors argued that his practice amounted to a "criminal enterprise" because he charged for his services and should have known that some of his patients were faking or exaggerating their pain.

Judging from the comments of their foreman, Ralph Craft, the jurors didn't really buy this theory. But they convicted Hurwitz anyway, because they felt he was "a bit cavalier" in the way he prescribed opioids. They confused their role as jurors in a criminal case with the roles of the state medical board that regulates doctors and the civil courts that hear malpractice lawsuits. By convicting Hurwitz of, in essence, trusting his patients too much, they put physicians on notice that they can go to prison for prescribing opioids to people who turn out to be addicts or dealers. That knowledge is bound to have a chilling effect on pain treatment, which is already scandalously inadequate because of the fear instilled by the war on drugs.

The prosecutors did not dispute that Hurwitz, a widely known pain specialist and prominent critic of federal drug policy, had helped hundreds of patients recover their lives by prescribing the narcotics they needed to control their chronic pain. Instead they pointed to the small minority of his patients—5 to 10 percent, by his attorneys' estimate—who were misusing the painkillers, selling them on the black market, or both. The prosecutors did not claim that Hurwitz got so much as a dime from illegal drug sales. Instead they pointed to his income as a physician, which they said was boosted by fees from bogus patients. The prosecutors did not allege that Hurwitz had any sort of explicit arrangement with those patients. Instead they described a "conspiracy of silence," carried out by "a wink and a nod."

The evidence supporting this theory was ambiguous at best, leaving plenty of room for reasonable doubt. None of the surreptitiously recorded conversations with patients-turned-informants presented by the prosecution included any acknowledgment of the conspiracy Hurwitz supposedly led. To the contrary, the testimony of former patients convicted of drug dealing tended to confirm Hurwitz's defense that he was tricked by "predators" who always knew the right thing to say to get more drugs.

A former patient called as a prosecution witness testified, "I had a lot of pain, but I exaggerated it, trying to get the drugs." On cross-examination, he added that he had "played a lot of doctors" over the years. He characterized Hurwitz as naive, saying, "He was concerned about me and my wife [also a patient]. Dr. Hurwitz is always concerned." Another former patient recalled using makeup to cover injection marks on his arm and smoking crack before appointments so he would not seem suspiciously sleepy. All described the lies they told: complaints of unrelieved pain, reports of lost prescriptions, explanations for brushes with the law.

If there was a conspiracy, asked defense attorney Patrick Hallinan, "why would you have to lie?" And if Hurwitz and his patient-dealers were in cahoots, why would he carefully record all the potential signs of trouble the prosecution would later cite as evidence of his "head-in-the-sand attitude"? Hallinan conceded that Hurwitz may have displayed "a degree of naïveté" and "even foolishness" in accepting some of his patients' stories. But he persuasively portrayed Hurwitz as "the perfect mark for these people": a doctor dedicated to helping patients in pain and reluctant to cut them off when they misbehaved.

Prosecutors maintained that Hurwitz's intentions didn't matter. As they put it in a post-verdict brief: "It is sufficient to prove a physician prescribed controlled substances while acting outside the bounds of medicine, regardless of whether he had a good faith belief that he was fulfilling a legitimate medical purpose." Since Hurwitz was "acting outside the bounds of medicine," the government argued, his prescriptions amounted to drug trafficking.

Hence the death of one patient from a morphine overdose that the government attributed to Hurwitz's excessive prescribing (the defense emphasized that the dose she took was smaller than what she had safely tolerated the day before) was not simply malpractice; it was "drug trafficking resulting in death." More generally, the prosecution criminalized (and federalized) what would ordinarily be treated as allegations of medical negligence. The point is not that Hurwitz's practice was beyond reproach. When the Virginia Board of Medicine reviewed allegations similar to those underlying the Justice Department's case, it considered them serious enough to place him on probation (although it did not revoke his license). But Hurwitz's performance as a doctor is not the proper concern of federal drug agents and prosecutors.

To convince the jurors that Hurwitz was not really practicing medicine, prosecutors encouraged them to view high-dose prescriptions of narcotics as inherently suspicious. Craft, the jury foreman, told the *Post* that "the dosages were just astounding," calling them "beyond the bounds of reason." As an example, he cited a prescription for 1,600 pills a day. Hurwitz said this particular prescription, which was never filled, resulted from a nurse's calculation error that was discovered at the pharmacy. But it's true that many of his patients were taking very high doses of painkillers, doses that would kill someone unaccustomed to narcotics.

Such doses often are necessary for treating severe chronic pain because patients develop tolerance to the analgesic effects of narcotics. They are safe because patients also develop tolerance to the potentially fatal respiration-depressing effects of these drugs. Responses to pain medication vary widely from person to person, and there is no a priori limit to how high doses can go.

The prosecution deliberately obscured these points during Hurwitz's trial. The government's main medical expert, Michael Ashburn, testified that consumption of high narcotic doses by patients with chronic pain who do not have cancer is a sign of drug abuse. In a letter written before the verdict, six past presidents of the American Pain Society rebuked Ashburn for this statement, along with several other "serious misrepresentations" of pain-treatment standards. "We are stunned by his testimony," they said. "Use of 'high dose' opioid therapy for chronic pain is clearly in the scope of medicine."

As these pain experts recognized, Hurwitz was not the only person on trial at the federal courthouse in Alexandria. So was every doctor who has the courage to risk investigation by treating people who suffer from severe chronic pain with high doses of opioids. The threat of criminal prosecution will compound the "opiophobia" that prevents many of these patients from getting adequate treatment.

The Drug Enforcement Administration itself acknowledged the tension between

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Iran and Nuclear Weapons

What does the world, what does Israel have to fear?

Despite evasions, denials and equivocations, it is quite clear now that Iran is intensely pursuing the holy grail of nuclear weapons. The only question is whether it is six months or three years away from that goal. What would it mean to the world, what would it mean to Israel, if Iran succeeded in this quest and if nobody, no country, would prevent it?

What are the facts?

An existential danger. In 1981, Israel, in a daring raid, destroyed the Iraqi nuclear installation at Osirak. The whole world, sad to say, including the United States, condemned Israel for this "act of aggression." But, of course, Israel did the world a tremendous favor, a favor that was only grudgingly acknowledged many years later. Had it not been for Israel's decisive action, Saddam Hussein would indeed have had nuclear weapons. The Iraqi dictator would have been the undisputed master of the Middle East. The United States, indeed the whole world, would have been at his mercy.

An even much greater danger now threatens us from Iran, because Iran is governed by religiously fanatic mullahs, who do not shrink from bringing any sacrifice, wreaking any destruction, if they believe that it will bring their religion-inspired goals to fruition. The primary targets of that fanatical zeal of the Iranian ayatollahs are the U.S. (the "big Satan") and Israel (the "little Satan"), perceived as being America's agent in the Middle East.

> "...somebody...would have to preempt to keep Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons... The survival of the world is at stake."

Since Iran is close to possession of long-range missiles, the United States would be in mortal danger of attack by that country. But even short of such attack, Iran, just as Saddam had planned, would be in unquestioned dominance of the Middle East and of its oil supply, the life blood of the Western world. It would cause intolerable damage to life and to the economy of the United States.

But Israel is the most immediate target of Iran's fury. Iran's unquenchable hatred of Israel is totally based on religious rage and on the conviction that "nonbelievers" have no legitimate place in the Middle East. Iran's leaders have publicly threatened Israel with destruction once they come into possession of nuclear weapons.

Horrifying panorama. Israel is such a small country that one or two nuclear weapons strategically placed in its narrow coastal strip would destroy it. Louis René Beres, professor of political science and international law at Purdue University, has described what would happen if and when Iran's mullahs direct their Islamic bombs on Israel. In addition to an immediate death toll in the hundreds of thousands, overwhelming health problems would afflict the survivors. Beyond the immediate burn injuries, Israelis would be crushed by collapsing buildings and torn to shreds by flying glass. Others would fall victim to raging firestorms. Fallout injuries would include whole-body radiation injuries and injuries produced by deposits of radioactive substances within the body. After an Iranian nuclear attack, medical facilities would be taxed beyond capacity. Water supplies would become altogether unusable. Housing and shelter would be unavailable for hundreds of thousands. Transportation and all other communication would break down and food shortages would be critical and long-term.

Normal human society would cease. Many of the survivors could expect an increase in serious degenerative diseases, also premature death, impairment of vision and sterility. A vastly increased incidence of all kinds of cancers would be unavoidable. Many balanced relationships in nature would be destroyed, upset by the extensive fallout. Survivors would have to deal with mushrooming insect hordes that would spread from the radiation-damaged areas in which they arose. This fact, coupled with the prevalence of unburied corpses, uncontrolled waste and untreated sewage, would generate tens of trillions of flies and mosquitoes. Breeding in the dead bodies, these insects would make it impossible to control typhus, malaria, dengue fever and encephalitis. But beyond that, throughout Israel, the largest health threat would be posed by hundreds of thousands of rotting human corpses. The survivors might envy the dead.

The effects of a nuclear attack on Israel are too horrible to consider. Even the description given above cannot begin to do justice to the devastation and to the total destruction that would be wrought. There can be little question that, as its final action as a coherent society, Israel would use its own considerable military might against its tormentors and would convert the entire Middle East into a hell, in which ultimately nothing could survive. It is clear that that has to be prevented at all cost, and that no effort should be spared to keep the hands of the evil ayatollahs off the nuclear trigger. One hopes that it can be done by persuasion and diplomacy. But if it can not, somebody – perhaps the United States or perhaps Israel, with or without the approval of the United States – would have to preempt and, by whatever means, keep Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. It is the most important cause of our time. The survival of the world is at stake.

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

To receive free FLAME updates, visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drug control and pain control in a pamphlet published last August. A product of extensive collaboration between the DEA and leading pain experts, the pamphlet explained that "simple exposure to opioids does not produce addiction," which requires an attachment to a drug's psychoactive effects. Confusion on this point, the pamphlet said, "can lead to the withholding of opioid medication because of a mistaken belief a patient is addicted when he or she is merely physically dependent." The pamphlet also noted that "any physician can be duped," that it's hard to distinguish between addicts and patients in pain, and that prescriptions that look suspicious to the government may be perfectly justified.

In October, a few weeks after Hurwitz's attorneys tried to introduce the pamphlet as evidence in his trial, the DEA removed the document from its website, citing unspecified "misstatements." The next month the DEA published an "Interim Policy Statement" in the *Federal Register* that listed some of the points it no longer wished to endorse, including the statement that "the number of patients in a practice who receive opioids, the number of tablets prescribed for each patient, and the duration of therapy with these drugs do not, by themselves, indicate a problem, and they should not be used as the sole basis for an investigation by regulators or law enforcement." The DEA emphasized that it reserves the right to investigate any physician at any time, even if only to make sure the physician *isn't* breaking the law. The upshot of the DEA's retraction was to leave doctors more nervous about prescribing opioids than they were before the ostensibly reassuring pamphlet was published.

Dozens of Hurwitz's former patients described the consequences of such nervousness in pre-sentencing letters to U.S. district judge Leonard Wexler. They recounted how, after other doctors had repeatedly turned them away, Hurwitz saved them from the constant agony caused by migraines, back injuries, and other painful conditions that left them disabled, homebound, despondent, and in some cases suicidal. "It is to Dr. Hurwitz's credit," wrote one, "that he chose to trust that his patients were genuinely seeking relief from pain that cannot be objectively measured. This trust is, in my experience, all too rare." Threatening doctors with prison for believing their patients will make it even rarer. **NR**

■ **ESSAY**

The New-Time Religion

Liberalism and its problems

JONAH GOLDBERG

LIBERALISM today has two maladies; Howard Dean is both of them. Or, more accurately, he represents both of them. The first has received a remarkable amount of attention among liberals themselves in recent months: American liberalism is intellectually exhausted, or "bookless," as *New Republic* editor-in-chief Martin Peretz recently called it. The second is less visible but perhaps more deadly: Modern liberalism has taken on the trappings of a religion.

This second diagnosis runs counter to the reigning clichés about the GOP's becoming the party of theocracy. While it's true that the Republican party and the conservative movement are invested in the agenda of religious groups, conservatism maintains a far clearer separation of religious and political impulses than liberalism, which often conflates the two into a single ideology. Like many spiritual movements, liberalism emphasizes deeds and ideals over ideas. As a result, when liberals gather there's a revivalist spirit in the air, with plenty of talk about fighting the forces of evil and testifying about good deeds done. Conservatives tend to behave like Star Trek conventioneers when they get together, making jokes, swapping trivia, and showing off their knowledge of arcana.

It was the philosopher Eric Voegelin who, in a phrase made famous by William F. Buckley Jr., decried the liberal impulse as an attempt to "immanentize the eschaton," or to create a heaven on earth. The often spiritual nature of the environmental movement; the quasi-messianic treatment of Martin Luther King Jr.; Bill Clinton's invocation of "covenants" with the American people; Hillary Clinton's hibernating "politics of meaning," which claimed to redefine what it meant to be a human being in the post-modern world—all of these are examples of what Voegelin would describe as the neo-Gnostic effort to make the hereafter simply *here*.

This is all the inevitable consequence of a political movement that deliberately turned its back on philosophy and its own intellectual history. A movement without ideas must be driven by *something*, and if ideas and principles aren't it, what's left is a stew of emotional and quasi-religious notions about "doing good." Well before the current bout of liberal self-flagellation, E.J. Dionne noted in *Stand Up Fight Back* that "liberals and Democrats tend not to view themselves as the inheritors of a grand tradition. Almost on principle, they are suspicious of such traditions, of too much theorizing, of linking themselves too much to the past." Of course, liberalism doesn't lack intellectual giants—Herbert Croly, John Dewey, Reinhold Niebuhr—but, Dionne concedes, "not one of them is routinely celebrated by today's liberals."

Yesterday's liberals didn't revere them much either. Compare, for example, the gaseous, solipsistic spirit of the Port Huron Statement—which famously launched the New Left and is still revered by liberals today—to the matter-of-factness of the Sharon Statement, which signaled the beginning of conservative youth activism. The former begins, "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit." It drones on like that for 50 pages. The Sharon Statement was designed to rally the budding righties of Young Americans for Freedom, who proudly wore buttons proclaiming, "Don't Immanentize the Eschaton!" It begins, "In this time of moral and political crisis, it is the responsibility of the youth of America to affirm certain eternal truths." The whole document runs less than 370 words. Such brevity is possible when you take it as a given that most of the important things have already been said.

Liberals tend to deride conservatism for its faith in dogma. But the reality is that liberal dogma is settled while conservative dogma remains a work in progress.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Disaster Relief for Catholics Stranded at Holy Diversity Parish

The Holy See thunders against abortion, homosexuality, priestesses, euthanasia, pre-marital sex, pornography, smutty sex education, screwy theology, and more. But you won't hear anything about that at Holy Diversity Parish.

Are you interested in a Mass with majesty and mystery? You won't find it at Holy Diversity Parish. The incense, sanctus bell, votive candles, and statues of the saints are long gone. The organ gathers cobwebs while Ms. Cantor bangs her conga drums. The crucifix has been taken down, replaced by a floating Jesus. The words of the readings and liturgy have been gender-bended. If you're looking for the Tabernacle, get ready to play Hide & Seek. And don't even think about praying before or after Mass, for the din insures that'll be impossible. Besides, there are no kneelers.

But who wants real meat when you can get crumbs? At Holy Diversity Parish you get balloons, clowns, liturgical dancers, dime-store decorations, butterflies hanging from the ceiling, and banners with greeting-card sentiments. And you always get vacuous feel-good homilies.

You won't hear about the Church's "controversial" teachings. Why not? Ask Fr. Flapdoodle. "Too mean and judgmental," says he.

At Holy Diversity Parish, last year's pop psychology is all the go. Shack-ups and homosexual partnerships are considered morally equivalent to Holy Matrimony. After all, Fr. Flapdoodle doesn't refer to husbands and wives as husbands and wives anymore — now he calls them "partners," just like the people in immoral unions, lest those living in sin feel "marginalized" or, well, sinful. Indeed, sin and repentance are passé, prompting one to wonder why Christ bothered to get crucified.

Fr. Flapdoodle is keeping the full Catholic message from his parishioners. Holy Diversity Parish is robbing the laity of their history, doctrine, moral resources, and intellectual heritage.

How long are goofball clerics going to bow down before the strange gods of an alien culture? We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, a monthly magazine edited by orthodox lay Catholics, say to the double-dealing men (men?) of the cloth: "Stop enfeebling the laity! Shape up or ship out!"

We have an international audience, and we're published in infamous Berkeley, so we've seen fads and frauds galore. We aren't afraid to call Fr. Flapdoodle a wimp and a coward. No wonder *Newsweek* calls us "cheeky." No wonder Karl Keating says we have "attitude."

Orthodox Catholics in Berkeley? Yes! Damn the torpedoes!

Among those who've written for us are Walker Percy, Michael S. Rose, James Hitchcock, Alice von Hildebrand, Fr. Peter Stravinskas, and Tom Bethell.

If you're sick and tired of Catholicism-Lite, disgusted when priests, nuns, and theologians curry favor with liberal secularists and the forces of neopaganism, we're for you. If you're stranded at Holy Diversity Parish, or even if you aren't, subscribe today and enrich your Catholic Faith!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue.)

★ SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS ★

- ☐ One-year subscription ..... **$14** (regularly $19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription ..... **$12** (regularly $16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription ..... **$23** (regularly $35)
- ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription ..... **US$24** (regularly $29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars.
- ☐ Sample copy **$3.50**

➔ Our prices are *so low* because you can't pay by credit card and payment must accompany order. Send letter or this coupon with check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

new oxford review
Room 580
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706

Name (Please print or type)

Street Address or P.O. Box

City State Zip

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indeed, the great debate of modern conservatism—crudely described as libertarianism versus conservatism, or freedom versus virtue—remains as unsettled today as it was when Frank Meyer coined the term "fusionism." Meyer argued that virtue not freely chosen was not virtuous, and therefore that a limited, i.e. libertarian, state was the only means to the conservative end of a virtuous society. In 1964, Meyer edited *What Is Conservatism?*, an ideological donnybrook between such heavyweights as Russell Kirk, WFB, and Friedrich Hayek over the proper ends of government. Four decades later, the debate is eerily relevant to conservatives trying to accommodate a "compassionate conservative" president who has declared that "when somebody hurts, government has got to move."

Liberals had their own fusionist debate during the first three decades of the 20th century. American reformers envied Europe's statist solutions to the "social problem." In the Bible of progressivism, *The Promise of American Life*, author Herbert Croly is palpably jealous of the Bismarckian welfare state. Croly, Dewey, Charles Beard, George Soule, and other early *New Republic* liberals had a goal even more chimerical than Meyer's: to redefine an ideology of limited government and individual liberty into a movement for economic and political centralization.

Liberals succeeded in jettisoning the historical baggage of liberalism by wielding the razor of Pragmatism, a "philosophy and a psychology perfectly tailored to progressive needs," writes Eric Goldman in his classic *Rendezvous with Destiny*. William James described his philosophy as an attitude of "looking away from first things, principles, 'categories,' supposed necessities; and of looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts." Croly, the founder of *The New Republic*, insisted that his journal was "not an exponent of liberal principles." Indeed, "[i]f there are any abstract liberal principles, we do not know how to formulate them. Nor if they are formulated by others do we recognize their authority. Liberalism, as we understand it, is an activity." By 1935, John Dewey could write in *Liberalism and Social Action* that activist government in the name of the economically disadvantaged had "virtually come to define the meaning of liberal faith." Other *New Republic* Pragmatists, such as James protégé Horace Kallen, often sounded like the later critical legal theorists, insisting that "philosophy" was simply invented by men to protect the status quo.

Liberalism puts government in God's throne to the extent that it believes that no challenge is beyond the reach of Leviathan.

Some liberals understood the dangers of this approach early on. "The real trouble with us reformers," lamented J. Allen Smith, a leading progressive intellectual, "is that we made reform a crusade against standards. Well, we smashed them all and now neither we nor anybody else have anything left." But the anti-dogmatism of the Pragmatists won out and became unquestioned dogma for generations of liberals. When Anthony Lewis—whom the *New York Times* described as its "most consistently liberal voice"—retired, he said the one "big conclusion" he had come to was that "certainty is the enemy of decency and humanity in people who are sure they are right, like Osama bin Laden and John Ashcroft."

Of course, an ideology of anti-dogmatism isn't less ideological than other worldviews; it's merely harder to defend consistently, which is why many liberals choose not to try. Ever since Michael Dukakis insisted that voters should value his "competence" over Republican "ideology," Democratic politicians have been saying they don't believe in "labels"—never mind extolling anything like a coherent political philosophy. But, as Bertrand Russell warned, the Pragmatic approach leaves its adherents no easily articulated principles for action other than power, preferences, and irrational "feelings." It should be no surprise that Hillary Clinton justified her Senate candidacy on the claim that she was more "concerned" about the issues than her opponent. And of course her husband won the presidency by arguing he was better at "feeling" pain.

It's also not surprising that George Lakoff's *Don't Think of an Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*, with a foreword by Howard Dean, has been received as a lifeline for liberals convinced that their ideology is a non-issue. Lakoff, whom Dean describes as "one of the most influential political thinkers of the progressive movement," argues that the liberal product is just fine, it's the marketing operation that has fallen apart. If liberals simply called trial lawyers "public-protection attorneys" and pitched "environmental protection" as an effort to maintain "poison-free communities," everything would click into place. In other words, it is an article of faith for liberals that they are right, they just need to update the evangelization effort by speaking in the vernacular a bit more. Robert Reich makes essentially the same argument in a recent issue of *The New Republic*, contending that if Democrats can win back the "narrative" of politics, liberals will triumph.

Whatever the merits of these "ideas," liberals would surely be better served if they understood that this is an old project indeed. Thurman Arnold, FDR's antitrust czar and a titan of liberal legal philosophy, made a much more serious attempt at the same point in *The Folklore of Capitalism* and *Symbols of Government* 70 years ago. He too believed that politics was ultimately about narratives and frames. Where he differed was that he understood he was in the dogma-manufacturing business while Lakoff, Reich, et al. take it as a metaphysical given that the liberal approach is the correct one.

And this is where the Janus faces of liberalism meet. William James invented Pragmatism to accommodate the belief that Darwin killed God; with it, religious truth became whatever believers willed. Liberalism therefore puts government in God's throne to the extent that it believes that, as a matter of principle, no challenge is beyond the reach of Leviathan. From Woodrow Wilson on, central to the new liberals' project was to create, in Arnold's words, a "religion of government," where the old dogma of a limited state with defined powers would be rendered obsolete in favor of an "organic" state and an oracular "living constitution." Perhaps Howard Dean should purchase some "Don't Immanentize the Eschaton!" buttons with the "Don't" crossed out. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER ARTICLE

Re: Immigration

Ten points for a successful presidential candidate

MARK KRIKORIAN

THE next presidential election may be years away, but potential candidates are already staking out positions on issues that should figure prominently. One of these is certain to be immigration, and one likely candidate for 2008 is already working to develop a tough, pro-enforcement image.

Unfortunately, that candidate is Hillary Clinton.

Her grade of F from Americans for Better Immigration, a group lobbying for stricter immigration rules, hasn't stopped her from dropping comments to reporters like "I am, you know, adamantly against illegal immigrants," and "People have to stop employing illegal immigrants." Of course, the only reason Hillary thinks she has a chance of outflanking the GOP on the right is that the president's immigration policies are terrible. It is therefore an opportune time to outline an immigration agenda for the 2008 presidential candidates. Here is a ten-point package, which includes both measures that a candidate should pledge to undertake on his own, and legislative changes that he should promote, as president.

1. *Unambiguous commitment to enforcement.* No candidate for chief executive can be taken seriously unless he enunciates a clear and unequivocal determination to execute the immigration law, whatever it happens to be. Presidential contenders don't come out and say they *oppose* enforcement, of course, but experience shows that's exactly what they mean when they offer the usual mealy-mouthed generalities.

It's not just a matter of pledging to pursue specific policies; rather, given the long history of government-ignored lawbreaking, the whole enforcement environment needs to change. A strong candidate will promise to end the climate of impunity for border-jumping, and illegal employment, and fake documents, and immigration fraud. In other words, apply to immigration the lessons of "broken windows" policing, learned from New York and elsewhere. (Under this policing, you crack down on all infractions, no matter how small, to reduce crime overall.) Equally important, the candidate should pledge that when the inevitable complaints come in from the many beneficiaries of illegal immigration, the White House will support those charged with enforcing the law, rather than hanging them out to dry, as has been the practice up to now.

2. *No Hobson's choice.* Comprehensive enforcement is a tactic; a candidate also needs to articulate a strategy for success. This entails rejecting the false choice between mass roundups and amnesty. Since everyone agrees that mass roundups like the ill-named Operation Wetback of the 1950s aren't going to occur, the anti-enforcement camp says that amnesty, and an unending stream of "temporary" workers, is the only alternative.

But a third way, and the only workable approach, is to use consistent, across-the-board enforcement as part of a strategy of attrition, causing fewer illegals to come and more of those already here to leave, so that the total illegal population declines from year to year, instead of continually rising. This is the same approach that worked so well with welfare reform, where the GOP rejected the Democratic vision of ever-growing welfare rolls, but didn't just throw all the recipients out on the street. A long-term, strictly enforced policy can stem the tide of immigration without resorting to mass roundups and without throwing in the towel with mass amnesty.

3. *Take amnesty off the table.* Amnesty should not even be a legitimate topic for discussion until *after* we regain control of the immigration system. Terms like "legalization," "normalization," and the ever-popular "phased-in access to earned regularization" are simply euphemisms for amnesty, i.e., giving legal status to illegal aliens. Having an amnesty at the front end of any immigration initiative guarantees failure. In 1986, nearly 3 million illegals were legalized, while promises of enforcement to prevent future illegal immigration were quickly abandoned. As a result, today's illegal population is twice as large as it was before the 1986 amnesty.

There is one kind of amnesty, however, that a presidential candidate could endorse—one modeled after parking-ticket or tax amnesties, giving illegal aliens 90 days to get right with the law by

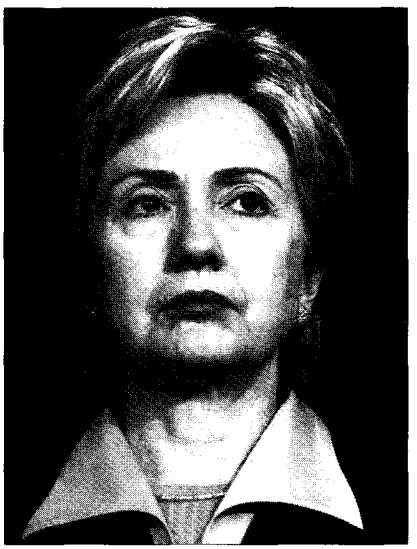
Mr. Krikorian is executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaving the country. Those who left would face no penalty if they later applied to immigrate or visit; those who did not leave would be, when caught, barred permanently from future reentry.

4. *No illegal workers.* Employment is the chief draw for most illegals to the United States, and denying them jobs must be the centerpiece of any attrition strategy. Although the employment of illegal aliens was prohibited by Congress in 1986, opponents of that bill neutered it by disallowing any workable verification system. Several voluntary online pilot programs for employers to check their employees' statuses were subsequently authorized, and have proven popular with businesses, but they expire in 2008. A pro-enforcement candidate should pledge not only to renew the programs, but also to make them a universal, mandatory part of the normal hiring process.

A candidate should also pledge an immediate, simple fix that would help deny employment to illegals. The IRS and the Social Security Administration should be instructed to stop accepting fake Social Security numbers or numbers that don't match the employees' names—most, if not all, of these cases are illegal aliens using fake or stolen numbers. For nearly 20 years, the two agencies have been facilitating illegal employment by looking the other way, and refusing to notify employers of fake numbers. (They cite privacy concerns and a lack of jurisdiction as grounds for staying quiet.) The one exception that proves the rule is a Social Security initiative that sent 1 million "no match" letters to employers in 2003; it was so effective in revealing illegal aliens that business and ethnic lobbying groups, which adamantly oppose any tightening of immigration rules, had the administration shut it down. Ending this absurd situation—immediately, right after the parade on January 20, 2009—must be a top priority for a pro-enforcement candidate.



The tough, pro-enforcement candidate?

KAMENKO PAJIC/UPI

5. *Work with states and localities.* The nation's 700,000 state and local police encounter immigration violators every day in the course of their duties. Some jurisdictions prohibit police from working with federal immigration authorities, while others that do try to turn over illegal aliens in their custody are often rebuffed by the feds, who point to a lack of resources. A presidential candidate should promote better cooperation by supporting legislative measures such as the CLEAR Act, which aims to systematize the relationship between local law and federal immigration officials, as well as administrative measures, like encouraging immigration-law training for police, and enforcing the federal ban on local "sanctuary" policies that prohibit police from using immigration law as a tool to fight crime. The point is not to turn cops into immigration officers, but to give local authorities enhanced law-enforcement abilities and to make sure that, when illegals come their way, local police can turn them over to the feds.

6. *Document security.* Ensuring that documents are legitimate and are issued only to the deserving is an indispensable tool of immigration enforcement. Congress may already have begun to deal with this by the next election, since it is now considering a bill that would set minimum standards for state driver's licenses. But perhaps even more problematic than inconsistent license rules is the spreading acceptance of consular registration cards, chiefly Mexico's "matricula consular" card, which functions as an illegal-alien ID; when accepted by U.S. jurisdictions as a valid ID for everything from bank accounts to air travel, it represents a de facto amnesty. (Anyone in the U.S. legally will have at least *some* form of U.S.-issued identification, whether a Social Security card or a travel visa.) The administration has been sending mixed messages about the matricula consular, with the FBI highlighting its security risks while the Treasury department explicitly approves its use by banks. Any candidate claiming to support immigration control must send a clear message that such documents have no validity in the United States.

7. *Check in/check out.* The administration is slowly phasing in the US-VISIT program, which will track the arrival and departure of foreign visitors. Unfortunately, a decision was made to exempt from the program nearly all Mexicans and Canadians. Since these countries account for the vast majority of foreigners coming here (85 percent), such a policy is clearly a violation of Congress's intent in mandating this check-in/check-out system in the first place. A pro-enforcement candidate must pledge to end these exemptions.

8. *Streamline legal immigration.* The Department of Homeland Security is choking on immigration. There is a bewildering array of legal-immigration categories, extending far beyond the goals of admitting world-class geniuses, nuclear families of Americans, and people certain to be persecuted if they return home. A sign of the system's dysfunction is that some 4 million people are on waiting lists to immigrate under one category or another, often with decades-long waits in store—and the list never gets any shorter. In fact, it might be more accurate not even to call it "legal" immigration, since so many in the queue are already living here illegally and are merely using the system to launder their status from illegal to legal.

We can't expect the Augean stables to be cleaned overnight. But at a minimum, a candidate who is serious about reforming immigration can pledge to end the legal-immigration program's two most egregious elements: the visa lottery and the admission category for adult brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens. The lottery was concocted as a way to give green cards to Irish illegal aliens who did not meet the criteria of the 1986 amnesty, but has morphed into an immigration program that benefits regions it was never intended to, like Africa and the Middle East; it has no constituency, no rationale, and survives mainly out of inertia. As to the second, there's no "family unification" argument justifying immigration rights for naturalized immigrants' adult siblings, who have their own families and their own lives. This category is responsible for some of the worst backlogs and is also largely responsible for endless chain immigration—an immigrant brings his brother, whose wife then brings her sister, and so on.

Any change of this kind would have to pass Congress. But there are administrative measures a future president could take to introduce some rigor into the "legal" immigration system, chief among

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them a new approach to immigration fraud. Both the written rules and management practice now send the clear message to our immigration adjudicators here and to our visa officers overseas that fraud should not be a serious concern. (For example, immigrants are not punished for lying on some parts of the application, provided it doesn't affect the final decision.) The result is predictable: a profusion of fraud, from bogus family relationships to fake home-country diplomas. A new environment of zero tolerance for lies is an essential part of any effort to have the immigration law taken seriously again.

9. *"Temporary" visas.* These visa programs are among the most offensive. Roughly one-third of the illegal-alien population—some 3 million people—are believed to have come in on "temporary" visas and then never left. In addition, perhaps one fourth of each year's "new" permanent immigrants already live here on temporary visas, even though they swore to our consular officers that they had no intention of staying.

considerations aside, dual citizenship undermines the very principle of U.S. citizenship—that one's entire "allegiance and fidelity" is to the United States.

No conservative presidential candidate can let this stand. There are a number of immediate, symbolic measures that could reinforce the exclusivity of American citizenship; my favorite is to prepare a list of newly naturalized citizens each quarter, deliver it to the embassy of the immigrant's original country, and inform that government that these people are no longer their concern.

But beyond symbolic gestures, a candidate should offer legal proposals as well. The problem here is not dual citizens who do nothing with their other citizenship—or are unaware that they even *are* citizens of another country—but those who take advantage of their dual status. The old practice of stripping U.S. citizenship from a person who commits an "expatriating act" (e.g., voting in a foreign election) was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1967 and is not worth reviving. Instead, expatriating acts should simply be reclassified as federal offenses; thus, if an American citizen, native-born or immigrant, were to run for office in a foreign country—or serve in the government, or vote, or just use a foreign passport while traveling—he would remain secure in his American citizenship, but would be subject to civil and/or criminal penalties.

The silent majority on immigration is becoming increasingly restive and vocal, and this issue will only intensify as the next election approaches.

The different types of visas are designated by letters (F for students, H for workers, etc.), and they're proliferating at such a rate that we're almost out of letters, with Congress inventing T, U, and V visas in the past few years to bring the total number to over 20—excluding the numerous sub-categories. And, naturally, the numbers are rising much faster than the growth of our economy or any other yardstick. In just a four-year period in the late 1990s, the number of B visas for tourists and business travelers grew 26 percent, J visas for foreign exchange (or rather "foreign exchange," since many are really here to work) went up 40 percent, intracompany transferees (the L visa) jumped 51 percent, and the H category skyrocketed 116 percent.

The issue is large and complicated—that is to say, it is not conducive to extensive discussion in a political campaign. But a candidate who is genuinely interested in reasserting control over the immigration system must commit to certain principles: "Temporary" should actually mean temporary, and the visa system should never be used to bypass American workers or to create a market-distorting dependency on guest workers. As a first step, a candidate should pledge to oppose any expansion of numbers or categories pending a bottom-up reexamination of the rationale and functioning of the entire system.

10. *Actively discourage dual citizenship.* A new citizen swears that "I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen." Of course, like everything else in immigration policy, this no longer means what it says. Dual citizenship—what Teddy Roosevelt called "a self-evident absurdity"—is now formally acknowledged by the federal government. Almost all immigrants presently come from countries that permit some form of dual citizenship, for a total potential number of at least 50 million, and, pragmatic con-

A SURE WINNER

Immigration isn't a natural phenomenon like the weather. It is a government program, and the reforms suggested above represent conservative goals for *any* government program: order, fairness, predictability, transparency, and consequences for those who break the rules. Not only are these recommendations sensible, they are also very popular with the public. It is an ideal issue for solidifying the Republican base and for reaching out to Reagan Democrats. Politicians often make the mistake of thinking there's a risk in supporting tight controls on immigration, because the people they most frequently hear from are lobby groups or members of the elite, but immigration is an issue where the gap between public and elite views could not be wider. The true risk is in *not* addressing immigration. As David Frum wrote in these pages at the end of last year, "Immigration for Republicans in 2005 is what crime was for Democrats in 1965 or abortion in 1975: a vulnerable point at which a strong-minded opponent could drive a wedge that would shatter the GOP."

The silent majority on immigration is becoming increasingly restive and vocal, and this issue will only intensify as the next election approaches. Aspiring GOP candidates should capitalize on the current disquiet and seize the political high ground before their opponents beat them to it. Anyone desiring conservative support, and the Republican nomination, would be wise to adopt the above plan. It would be a shame to have to get used to saying "President Clinton" again. Wouldn't it? **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE JUDICIARY

Independence Day

Thinking seriously about judicial independence, and the state of our courts

RAMESH PONNURU &
ROBERT P. GEORGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO law professor Cass Sunstein thinks that we are entering a new and "worrisome" phase in the political struggles over the courts: The Right is mounting "a large-scale challenge to judicial independence." The editors of the *Washington Post* think that "the past few weeks have seen an aggressiveness in conservative attacks on the judiciary that cumulatively takes one's breath away" and warn that some Republicans are crossing "red lines beyond which legislators cannot go without threatening judicial independence." Al Gore says, "Through their words and threats, [some] Republicans are creating an atmosphere in which judges might well hesitate to exercise their independence for fear of congressional retribution, or worse."

Concern about threats to judicial independence is not limited to liberal academics, journalists, and ex-politicians. Ted Olson, President Bush's first solicitor general, wrote an op-ed for the *Wall Street Journal* titled "Lay Off Our Judges." Reminding us that our "independent judiciary is the most respected branch of our government, and the envy of our world," he asserted that it would be wrong for Congress to impeach judges or remove jurisdiction from federal courts. Chief Justice William Rehnquist's annual report on the federal judiciary also cautioned against any attempt to check the courts other than "the gradual process of changing the federal Judiciary through the appointment process." He concluded the relevant section of the report thus: "Let us hope that the Supreme Court and all of our courts will continue to command sufficient public respect to enable them to survive basic attacks on the judicial independence that has made our judicial system a model for much of the world."

Sunstein is right about one thing: The politics of the judiciary is indeed entering a new phase. For years, conservative critics of judicial usurpation have attempted to combat abuses by trying both to get better judges appointed and to amend the Constitution to undo particularly objectionable decisions. Republicans continue to pursue both strategies. They are trying to abolish the filibuster of judicial nominees in order to get better judges on the bench, and some want a Federal Marriage Amendment to prevent usurping judges from redefining our most important social institution.

But having largely failed to arrest by these methods the federal judiciary's arrogation of power, conservatives are now increasingly looking at structural reforms to the power of the courts. In 2004, the House of Representatives passed bills that would limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts over the Pledge of Allegiance and the Defense of Marriage Act. In the aftermath of the Schiavo case, Tom DeLay, the House majority leader, reiterated his interest in impeaching wayward federal judges. Others are wondering about the merits of term limits for federal judges.

But many Republicans—including the president and vice president—have sworn up and down that they, too, support judicial independence. Indeed, very few people explicitly repudiate judicial independence. The facts suggest that what we're seeing is not "a large-scale challenge to judicial independence" so much as a debate about what judicial independence, properly considered, means.

NOT A TINPOT DICTATORSHIP

Almost everyone would agree that a reasonable definition of judicial independence should include the ability of judges to make decisions they believe follow the law, without fear or favor. When we lament the absence of an "independent judiciary" in other lands, we generally mean that, in a dispute, the courts in these places will side with the politically connected or the rich. Almost everyone—everyone, we suppose, but the family members and friends of tinpot dictators—can see the value of having a judiciary that is independent of such pressure. It is also reasonable to regard judicial independence as including the norm that judges' decisions are almost always binding on the parties to a case. If the executive branch could routinely ignore judicial decisions it disliked, for example, then the executive would have taken on a judicial function, and thus, to that extent, there would be no judiciary independent of other parts of the government.

The first thing to note about this kind of judicial independence is that it should constrain judges at least as much as anyone else. If judges themselves allow their political preferences to affect their reading of (or worse, to trump) the law, then they squander what is valuable about judicial independence. Likewise if they place the institutional interests of their courts ahead of the law, effectively making themselves parties to the case. If these things have happened on a wide scale, as we and many other conservatives (and even some liberals) believe, then they have happened at a cost to judicial independence—and it makes little sense to accuse anyone who wants to do something about it of opposing judicial independence.

Teasing out the view of judicial independence implicit in the remarks of Sunstein, Rehnquist, and the others is a little tricky, but it appears to go well beyond the binding character of court rulings and the absence of pressure on judges to reach particular results. These commentators also tend to take judicial independence as requiring that the other branches a) regard the courts' say on constitutional meaning as final and b) apply no checks on the courts other than appointments and amendments. In practice, "judicial independence" becomes identical to maximal judicial power.

There is a limit to how far any of these defenders of the courts will go toward judicial supremacy. None of them says that the Constitution simply is whatever the Supreme Court says it is. To accept that claim would be to make many of the Court's decisions to overrule its own precedents unintelligible. It would also raise

Mr. Ponnuru is a senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW. Mr. George is McCormick professor of jurisprudence and director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

impolitic questions about whether the Constitution is a meaningful constraint on the Court. Instead, the judiciary's defenders say that criticism of the courts—"even sharp" criticism, Olson generously allows—can be appropriate. They just want keep the criticism from getting out of hand.

But they have a hard time identifying principled boundaries. The *Washington Post* says that there are "red lines." How do we know when we have crossed them? The closest the *Post* comes to answering that question is to say that judges have to be able "to render difficult decisions without facing personal retribution, budgetary retaliation or diminution of the jurisdiction of the courts to hear important questions." But this won't do. The *Post* isn't saying that there's a constitutional rule against, say, limiting the courts' jurisdiction. If it believed that, it would merely have to provide evidence for the existence of this rule to close its case. Instead, it's saying that Congress should not exercise its power to limit judges' jurisdiction because, even if Congress does have that power, its exercise would keep judges from being able to do their jobs. And that assertion is question-begging. You could just as well say that judges have to be able to render difficult decisions without facing the prospect that anyone will try to appoint differently minded judges or amend the Constitution to undo their handiwork. The *Post*'s proffered answer doesn't distinguish between what should be allowed and what should be "Beyond the Pale" (the title of the editorial).

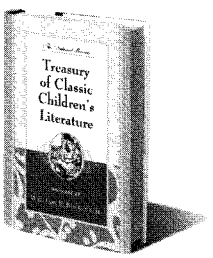
Chief Justice Rehnquist gives a more plausible answer: The only checks we have used against the courts, historically, are the appointment and amendment processes. Congress has not impeached judges for their decisions, and has not restricted the courts' jurisdiction over constitutional matters. This traditionalist answer, however, fails to reckon with the possibility that the courts' arrogation of power over the last few decades has been unprecedented. If that is true, as many conservatives believe (sometimes as a result of reading Rehnquist's dissenting opinions), then the force of the traditionalist argument dissipates. New challenges sometimes call for new responses.

And it *is* true that the Court's rulings in the last few decades have been unprecedented. Apologists for the modern courts always say that they are merely doing the job American courts have always done: enforcing the Constitution, being fiercely independent, ruffling feathers, vindicating rights, etc. Anybody who objects to their latest innovation—whether abortion-on-demand 30 years ago, same-sex marriage today, or voting rights for prisoners tomorrow—is told that his real quarrel is with *Marbury* v. *Madison* and the Founders.

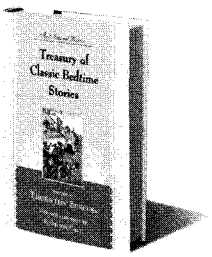
Yet it is undeniable that we now have a federal judiciary that nullifies federal and state laws at a far faster pace than obtained for most of the nation's history. It may be that the government enacts more unconstitutional laws than it used to—conservatives, of all people, will be sympathetic to that view. But the laws being struck down are often very old laws that are merely running afoul of new theories. So what defenders of the judiciary should properly say is that the courts are newly energetic in doing a duty that they have previously neglected. That is not terribly plausible; and even if it were true, it would be hard to declare it "beyond the pale" for other branches of government to object to this new energy. In addition, we now have courts that view their role in demonstrably more grandiose terms than previous courts did. Nothing John Marshall

3-for-1!

Get three acclaimed NR 'Treasuries': our Classic Children's Literature and Classic Bedtime Stories collections, *plus* Queen Zixi of Ix, all for . . .



PLUS



PLUS

. . . only $29.95!

AND YES FOLKS—THAT INCLUDES FREE SHIPPING VIA U.S. MAIL

WOWZA! 3-4-1 ON NR KIDS' BOOKS

Send _____ sets for only $29.99 each (including shipping!) to

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")

Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

Total payment $ _____

NY residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add $5.00

NATIONAL REVIEW

215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

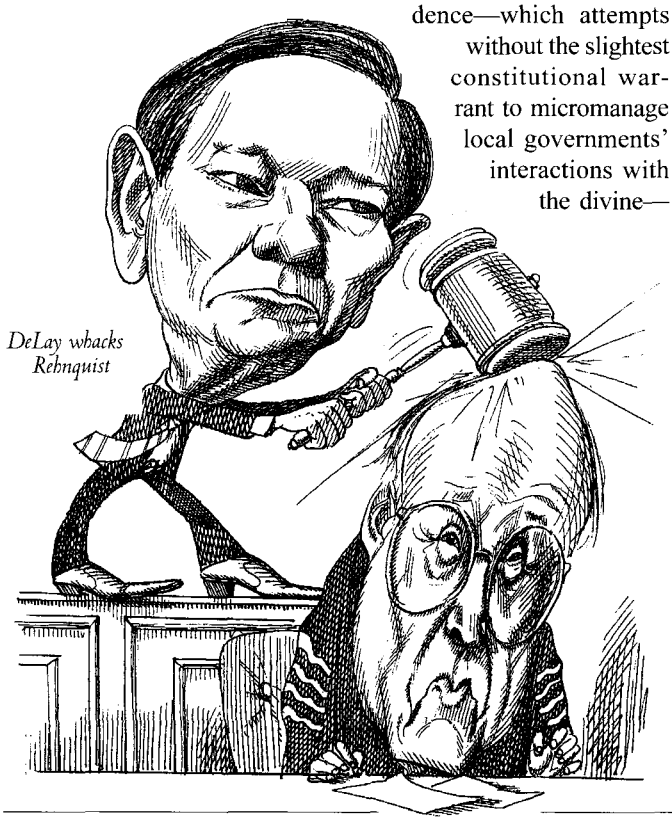
said approaches the claims of judicial supremacy made by the Supreme Court in *Casey*, *City of Boerne*, or *Dickerson*—to cite three cases from the 1990s.

It is worth noting that nobody doubted that our courts were "independent" back when they were more deferential to state governments and to Congress. Everyone could see the difference between our form of government and the aforementioned tinpot dictatorships, which really did lack judicial independence. Nobody doubted that the courts were independent even when the other branches were not deferential to them. Abraham Lincoln famously said in his first inaugural that while court decisions must be respected in particular cases, they need not be considered binding as policy on other branches of government. His critics do not generally take him to have been attacking the independence of the courts (at least in that speech).

FINDING AN ANTIDOTE

So it is better to look at the merits of proposed structural reforms than to rule them out on principle. DeLay's suggestion of impeaching judges does not seem very promising. The very situation that recommends structural reform—a widespread tendency of the courts to go beyond their legitimate authority—militates against impeachment. Impeaching large numbers of federal judges would be, to say the least, impractical. Perhaps DeLay envisions impeaching a few especially egregious judges *pour encourager les autres* (although he might balk at using French). But it would be hard to generate a consensus on which judges to impeach.

It might seem that the two federal judges who ruled it unconstitutional to have schoolchildren recite "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance would make worthy targets. But the truth is that those Ninth Circuit judges were applying the Supreme Court's chaotic precedents on church and state in a way that is not utterly implausible. The problem is with the Court's church-state jurisprudence—which attempts without the slightest constitutional warrant to micromanage local governments' interactions with the divine—



DeLay whacks Rehnquist

ROMAN GENN

and not with those two judges. To impeach them would be like court-martialing the lieutenants for the crimes of the generals. It would be unlikely to cause the deeper judicial retrenchment we should seek. And because impeachment is at least as much a campaign against individual judges as a structural reform, it really would threaten the true and valuable kind of judicial independence. Judges should not hesitate to follow higher courts' precedents (or otherwise read the law as they think correct) because they fear for their jobs. On that much, at least, Rehnquist, Olson, and the rest have it right.

Removing certain matters from the federal courts' jurisdiction, on the other hand, has much to recommend it. There are three principal arguments against such legislation as the House bill to deny federal courts jurisdiction over the Pledge. They are that Congress can't do it, that it won't work, and that it will.

When Congress first took up the Pledge bill, Rod Smolla, dean of the University of Richmond School of Law, argued in *Slate* that Congress couldn't do what it was trying to do: Congress cannot simply license the state governments to violate the Constitution by denying the federal courts the ability to do anything about it; the Supreme Court has to be able to enforce the Constitution; otherwise all the fine words of the Constitution would be dead letters.

But it is not true that every provision of the Constitution is to be enforced by the Supreme Court, and not even the modern legal academy takes that position. (To take the most obvious example: The appropriate balance of power between Congress and the president in foreign policy is left largely to the tug-of-war between those branches.) Some form of judicial review of statutes' constitutionality can be reasonably inferred from the Constitution. The power of Congress to regulate the federal courts' jurisdiction is, however, spelled out in the text of the Constitution (Article III, Sections 1 and 2). The text has to trump an inference, even a strong one, if the Constitution is not to be a dead letter. The simplest reading of the constitutional provisions in question is that they allow Congress to place limits on the courts' attempted enforcement of the Constitution. Judges may think the Founders were mistaken on this point, but are not authorized to correct them.

The argument that jurisdiction-stripping will not work generally involves state courts. It is said that if the Pledge bill were to pass, state courts within the Ninth Circuit, such as the state courts of California, would remain obligated to enforce the ruling against the words "under God." If someone were to challenge the constitutionality of the words in Vermont, meanwhile, it would fall to the state courts there to interpret the First Amendment and make a ruling. So, the argument runs, the bill would not protect the pledge or even solve the problem of judicial activism. Vincent Philip Muñoz, writing in *First Things*, argues that it would be better to get the Supreme Court to overturn the Ninth Circuit ruling than to pass the bill.

All this argument establishes, however, is that the wisdom of withdrawing jurisdiction from the federal courts depends on, among other things, the importance of national uniformity—and that importance will vary from case to case. The nation can prosper even if schoolchildren in Vermont and Alabama say the Pledge differently, and federal legislators are capable of making that determination. There is also the possibility that successful action to rein in the federal courts will inspire analogous action in the states. The question Muñoz raises, meanwhile, is one of priorities.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He envisions a scenario in which Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy fabricate some unconvincing distinction between the Pledge case and the Court's precedents in order to let the Pledge stand. It is a plausible story. But would this modest improvement in the Court's church-state jurisprudence—assuming that it could be called an improvement—be worth sacrificing the opportunity to address the structural problem of an out-of-control judiciary that gave rise to the case in the first place? It's not a close call in this case, although in others prudence might well require a different judgment.

Finally, there is the argument that Congress can limit the federal courts' jurisdiction but should not do so because it would threaten Americans' constitutional liberties. In the course of criticizing jurisdiction-limiting legislation, Olson writes, "As much as we deplore incidents of bad judging, we are not necessarily better off with—and may dislike even more—adjudications made by presidents or this year's majority in Congress." Olson is certainly correct to suggest that Congress might abuse its power. It could shield truly unconstitutional activity from the federal courts. Anyone who pays even modest attention to Congress, and has noted the ham-handedness with which some congressional opponents of judicial excess have recently conducted themselves, can see Olson's point.

But this is not the only kind of constitutional error that we can fall into. It is not as though the alternative were judges who always make the right decisions. Judges can declare policies unconstitutional when they are not, and can assume a power the judiciary was never meant to have. One can imagine many possible methods of enforcing the Constitution: leaving the task to courts alone, leaving it to legislatures alone, or dividing responsibility for it among them in some fashion. Under any proposed method, however, there is some chance—indeed, human nature being what it is, there is a near-guarantee—that governmental practice will depart in various ways from the Constitution. To have a constitution is necessarily to have an imperfect constitutionalism (which is better than none at all). The question is which division of institutional authority, among those allowed by the Constitution, is most likely to lead to constitutional outcomes.

A political culture that assumes that judges have a monopoly on enforcing the Constitution may well cause other political actors, and the public itself, to pay little attention to the Constitution on the theory that the courts will take care of it. The spread of that assumption can hardly be healthy for constitutionalism. Moreover, the checks we are currently applying to the courts seem to be failing to do enough to check them, which suggests that we may need to revive old ones or create new ones. Indeed, the judicial independence celebrated by the modern legal culture is undermining the old-fashioned kind. Judicial independence read as the relative absence of external constraints on judges almost inevitably leads to judicial independence from the rule of law.

People who have grown accustomed to regarding judicial independence as identical to judicial power, and judicial power as identical to the rule of law, have difficulty imagining that possibility—let alone realizing that it has actually occurred. To return the federal courts to their proper constitutional role may well require that we strip the courts of part of their jurisdiction. It will surely require that we strip away the ideological fictions that sustain their power. **NR**

■ **FOREIGN POLICY**

About Sudan

What has been done? What can be done?

JAY NORDLINGER

PRESIDENT BUSH saw the movie *Hotel Rwanda*, twice. This is the movie that depicts the genocide in that country, and in particular the refusal of the U.N.—which had troops there—to lift a finger. Deeply interested, Bush arranged to meet the man on whose personal story the movie is based: the hotel manager, Paul Rusesabagina. They talked in the Oval Office, mainly about Darfur, Sudan. Rusesabagina said that what had occurred in Rwanda was occurring in Darfur. Bush said that he would do all he could to stop it. It is too late for some—for up to 400,000—but not, of course, for all. We may say that it is never too late to stop genocide while there are people left standing.

It was last September 9 that the United States—in the person of then-secretary of state Colin Powell—declared that genocide was taking place in Darfur. There is now some debate across the government about whether genocide continues, although there is no doubt that extensive murder and other terror are ongoing. Is the U.S. doing everything it possibly can? The answer is no, if the possibilities include the dispatch of American troops to the region. But this is not counted as a possibility by anyone of influence. Short of troops, it may well be that the U.S. is doing all it can. The United Nations is another matter, as usual. It is hard to see how the Darfur genocide will stop anytime soon, absent much greater concerted action.

One genocide has already occurred in Sudan, of course—that is, it has already been completed. That is the genocide in the south, where Christians and animists live (or lived, we might note grimly). The Sudanese government wiped out 2.2 million, and displaced another 4.5 million. This regime, in Khartoum, is almost unfathomably evil. Led by President Field Marshal Umar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, it is a military dictatorship that is also Islamist and terroristic. According to Freedom House, "the government of Sudan is the only one in the world today engaged in chattel slavery." Khartoum waged a long "jihad"—Bashir's word—against the south, featuring a terror-famine of the kind seen in Stalin's Ukraine and Mengistu's Ethiopia. Bashir blocked the humanitarian relief that the West sought to give; the U.N., and the United States, under President Clinton, did not push very hard. Bestialities in the south included bombings, razings, concentration camps (called "peace villages"), and rape after rape after rape. That may be what is hardest about inquiring into Sudan: the constant rape, that great and ancient weapon of terror.

Sudan is so bad, it expresses an almost comic-book evil. In the southern genocide, one hospital was bombed five times; children were beheaded in front of their parents; the hungry were strafed as they gathered to await food drops. The government even

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ran a "death train," in an almost willful imitation of the Nazis.

The West paid scant attention to these events, although some agitated, especially in America, especially on "the Christian right," as it is known. Such Republicans as Sen. Jesse Helms, Sen. Bill Frist, Rep. Frank Wolf, and Rep. Chris Smith were aroused, along with some Democrats, too, such as Rep. Donald Payne and former representative Walter Fauntroy. But mainly the United States, including its media, was uninterested. Nina Shea of Freedom House says that what press coverage existed tended to proclaim "how bad it was for conservative Christian groups to redeem slaves" (which is to say, to buy their freedom). "And every time the famine got bad, there was reporting on that, but it was always in the nature of, 'Isn't starvation terrible?' when the issue was jihad waged against these people." In a white paper, the Clinton administration forthrightly labeled Sudan a "backburner" issue, and the U.S. did not pay serious attention until George W. Bush took office.

In a May 2001 speech before the American Jewish Committee, the new president referred to Sudan's crimes as "monstrous," and said, "My administration will continue to speak and act for as long as the persecution and atrocities in the Sudan last." On the same day, he appointed a "special humanitarian coordinator," to try to ensure that U.S. aid reached its intended beneficiaries. Four months later, on September 6, he appointed former senator John Danforth to be his envoy to Sudan. When Islamist terrorists struck America five days later, the picture changed, dramatically: Khartoum, as an Islamist regime, was nervous. (It had sheltered Osama bin Laden from 1991 to 1996.) When the U.S. invaded Afghanistan, it was more nervous yet. It began to show a certain flexibility.

President Field Marshal Umar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, Sudan's Hitler

Working doggedly for about three and a half years, the United States achieved a peace agreement between the government of Sudan and rebel forces in the south. The agreement was finalized this past January. On April 13, a celebration was held in the Longworth Building on Capitol Hill, attended by Sudan activists, activist congressmen, and some Sudanese themselves. All described the mood as "jubilant." In a column, Chuck Colson, the evangelical leader, wrote, "We don't always get to see the results of our work in this life. That's especially true for those who work for human rights around the world." By the terms of the peace agreement, the south will enjoy self-rule, no longer subject to sharia (Islamic law). After six years, it may vote to separate itself from Sudan, although Senator Danforth is one who thinks this unlikely: "If you were to look at [the south], you would not think it could be an independent country. People might vote for that, but this would be a landlocked African country, with no roads."

Danforth reports that President Bush is totally engaged by Sudan: "I can tell you that, not only did the president appoint me as special envoy, he repeatedly talked to me about Sudan afterward. Every single time I went to either Sudan or Kenya for peace talks, I talked to the president in advance, either in the Oval Office or by telephone—every time. He was intimately involved in it." So was Secretary Powell. Congressman Wolf—who has been to Sudan five times—is another who testifies to Bush's interest, knowledge, and involvement. In fact, "I think the president deserves the Nobel prize. And I wanted to nominate him—but with Darfur going on, you just couldn't. I may nominate him later. But with Darfur going on," it would be unseemly.

GENOCIDE II

Ah, yes: Darfur. The genocide in the south is now over, with people there going about the rebuilding of life. For them, it is late 1945. But not for those in Darfur, a western region—their crisis still burns. In the first months of 2003, some Darfur Sudanese rebelled against Khartoum, tired of what they called discrimination and abuse; the government attacked with full fury, unleashing the same jihadist, genocidal hell that it had visited on Sudan's south. Darfur constitutes a fifth of the country, containing a seventh of the national population (but—to be grim again—who knows how that fraction stands this week?). The genocide's victims are black-African Muslims, killed by other Muslims who consider themselves racially and culturally superior. Bashir's regime has acted in concert with the "Janjaweed," and here we have a word to enter the lexicon of fear, along with "Gestapo," "Ton Ton Macoutes," and others. The Janjaweed are militias, men on horses and camels, who raid and rape and murder. Government forces and the Janjaweed consider their victims natural slaves, and, when attacking, shout, "Kill the slaves!" When raping, they may crack about making lighter babies. One refugee said a militiaman had claimed, "We kill all blacks and even kill our cattle when they have black calves." As Congressman Wolf and Sen. Sam Brownback reported last summer, after a trip to Darfur, "No black African is safe in Darfur." And "the Janjaweed are employing a government-supported scorched-earth policy to drive [these Africans] out of the region—and perhaps to extinction."

(Please note that most white people could not tell the difference between the "Arab" Sudanese Muslims and the black-African Sudanese Muslims, racially. Such is the mystery of racism.)

Bombed and burned out of their farmlands and villages, the Darfur Sudanese are herded into refugee camps, where they number about 2 million. These places are as squalid and wretched as you can imagine. Observers on the scene speak of a horrible dilemma, faced by the camp-dwellers: If the men venture out, for food and wood, they are liable to be killed, by Janjaweed who ring the camps, waiting for easiest prey; if the women venture out—rape. And the longer the people stay in the camps, the farther out they have to roam, making life more dangerous all the time.

ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Darfur has not escaped the attention of the West, as the south for many years had. Our media cover it generously. Secretary Powell visited Darfur, as has Kofi Annan, as has—in the last few weeks—the deputy secretary of state, Robert Zoellick. With justification, Senator Danforth says, "The interest of our government in Sudan is astonishing." He phoned the *Washington Post* to upbraid an editorialist who had argued the opposite. U.S. policy is essentially this: to provide massive food aid; to keep pressure on Khartoum, through sanctions and incentives; and to try to prod international action. Powell declared genocide in September, but administration officials are more reluctant to use the word now, whether in public or in private. On his recent trip, Zoellick was pressed on the question, and he said, "I really don't want to get into debates about terminology . . ." Many have remarked, with some bitterness, that murdered Sudanese hardly care whether they are victims of "genocide" or merely of "crimes against humanity," which is the United Nations' preferred term.

As of the end of April, the U.S. had given $628 million in aid to Darfur, which is more than 50 percent of the world's total. Are Khartoum and its Janjaweed proxies blocking this relief, as they had for months? Reports are indefinite, but the answer seems to be no. There are still truck drivers who may balk at delivering, for fear of their lives, and rebel groups are sometimes as problematic as the forces they oppose. But the bulk of the aid is reaching the hungry. We might ask, however, whether food is enough. One response comes from what may be a surprising source, Kofi Annan. Writing in the *New York Times* on April 13, he said plainly that aid without protection is folly. Annan cited Bosnians, who "watched the aid trucks continue to roll while their neighbors were gunned down in broad daylight. 'We will die with our stomachs full,' they used to say." But food aid is saving many lives, because starvation—whether government-provoked or not—is the primary killer. Nina Shea notes that "the big numbers in the south came from mass starvation, which the government had caused. In a vast rural area—where there are no cities or skyscrapers—you can only kill so many with bombs, guns," etc. (Stalin and Mao racked up their big numbers in this way: through starvation.)

We must now ask whether there is anyone standing between the innocent and the murderous—and the answer is, Precious few. Troops from the African Union are in Darfur, about 2,000 of them, to cover an area the size of Texas. Their number is to rise by autumn (which is a long way off, in the midst of genocide, or quasi-genocide). The United States has assisted this group with logistics—spending about $80 million—and there is now talk that NATO will offer such assistance as well. The United States is pushing for NATO's participation, but not every country is eager. As the Associated Press reported, "France has been wary about NATO involvement in Africa, concerned that Paris's traditional influence could be undermined." That sentence pretty well sums up the French attitude toward Sudan and its suffering.

A LAUGHABLE WORLD BODY

To enlist the help of the U.N. has been an uphill struggle—perhaps that is why internationalists have to turn to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to address an East African problem. In March of this year, the U.N. imposed some sanctions on Khartoum, but these are light sanctions, nothing like an oil embargo, which would have serious consequences. For the U.N. to move, you need the Security Council, and on that council sit some unhelpful actors: China, which is a huge investor in Sudan, and a huge military supplier; Russia, also a big military supplier (including of Antonov planes and Hind helicopter gunships, spearheads of Sudanese genocide); and France, which has proven itself more interested in thwarting the Americans than in doing right by Sudan. The United States pressed for an African court, to try Sudanese war criminals, on the model of the courts handling Liberia's Charles Taylor, and the Rwandans, and the Sierra Leoneans. But the French, along with other Europeans, blocked this effort, insisting on the International Criminal Court, to which the U.S., of course, is not a signatory. When the ICC referral came to a vote, the U.S. abstained. The Security Council has given the ICC a sealed list of 51 Sudanese war criminals; it would be unwise to bet that anything will come of it.

We must now ask whether there is anyone standing between the innocent and the murderous—and the answer is, Precious few.

Frank Wolf is typical of the activist-experts in having little respect for the U.N. in Sudan. He points out that the U.N. was useless in Srebrenica, in Rwanda, and elsewhere, and is merely repeating its performance in Darfur. Senator Danforth, however—recall that he was ambassador to the U.N., following his stint as Sudan envoy—is more respectful of the U.N.'s performance, citing the body's role in the north-south peace. (Whether the U.N. would have done half as much without Danforth's commitment, and Bush's, is another question.)

What is apparently impossible is a U.N. force in Sudan, to protect the innocent. Even a formal no-fly zone—of the sort that saved many Kurdish and other lives in Iraq—is too tough. As Danforth says, "When we were passing resolutions last summer on Darfur, we wanted to talk about at least the threat of sanctions, but we could not pass anything with the word 'sanctions' in it. We had to talk about 'measures.'" If the U.N. shrinks from calling sanctions sanctions, how will it feel about any military intervention? Some have grumbled that a new coalition of the willing should enter Darfur, in the face of U.N. paralysis and African haplessness. If we mean "never again," and are truly sorry for Rwanda (President Clinton apologized), why not such a move? But there is no significant appetite for it; and success, militarily, would not be automatic. Then too, the world's Muslims might do some good, by objecting to the extermination of hundreds of thousands of their coreligionists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But those listening for a peep will be disappointed.

A curious fact about this genocide is that it may be the best known in history. The State Department, the United Nations, and other organizations—official and private—have meticulously documented what has gone on in Darfur. Simply go to the State Department's website, and you will see maps, charts, everything. As many have pointed out, no one in the future will be entitled to claim ignorance. At their Holocaust museum, Yad Vashem, the Israelis display an aerial photo of Auschwitz, taken by Allied forces in 1944. Such photos were revealed by CIA analysts in 1978, and President Carter turned over some originals to the Israelis in 1980. No fundamental mystery is even suggested about Sudan. Various entities keep almost a running tally: In 1985, there were a million Nuba people (from central Sudan); today there are 300,000.

We are all perhaps too quick to say "Never again," when never again recurs, again and again. If it is too hard to stop genocide, then we should simply say so, bowing to futility. As Nina Shea says, "The problem with declaring genocide," as the U.S. did last September, "is that, unless you go invade the next day, you're not doing enough. It is almost a deterrent to ever declaring genocide." (The Clinton administration was careful not to use what is called "the G word" about Rwanda, as the U.N. has eschewed it regarding Sudan. There is a Genocide Convention, and uttering that word entails responsibilities.) Shea and many others who are hard-line and heroic about Sudan think that, absent unilateral action, the U.S. government is doing about all it can, and that criticism of President Bush on the Sudan score is political, and empty.

Still, Philip Gourevitch, editor of *The Paris Review*, makes a point. He wrote a book about Rwanda with the arresting title *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*. He says, "Why not make life miserable for the Khartoum regime? Why not rachet up the rhetoric? Why not mention Sudan every single place you go, stick it to them? Why not stick it to our European allies on this?" Tony Blair, for example, expresses a great interest in Africa. Well, is not Sudan the largest African country (in area)? "Make the issue hot." Make a huge stink at the U.N. "Put lots of pressure on Thabo Mbeki [in South Africa], and on Museveni [in Uganda], and how about the Egyptians? We write them some big checks every year, don't we?" (In fact, the Sudanese regime harbored three men who had tried to assassinate President Mubarak.) "Why not put pressure on our new friend Moammar Qaddafi? Tie up a little foreign aid," do anything and everything at your disposal. This is genocide, after all.

Nevertheless, I maintain that Americans can take satisfaction in the fact that their government is doing as much as it is—even apart from the fact that this is infinitely more than any other government would do. And a range of humanitarian groups have been astounding. Pity that the United Nations, which might be expected to stop genocide, if to do nothing else, is not more capable. But that is the nature of the beast. Recall that Sudan—the government of Field Marshal Bashir, which engages in slavery, which is responsible for maybe 2.6 million dead, and 6.5 million displaced—sits on the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Its term expires in 2007. How many more Sudanese will have expired by then? **NR**

■ **CUBA**

Travels in Fidel-land

What a visit revealed

RADEK SIKORSKI

As we started speaking about my visit, Father José María removed the telephone cord from the receiver in one deft, well-practiced move. I knew that move well from my youth in Communist Poland, when it was wise to assume not only that every telephone line was bugged but that each telephone could serve as a listening device. We were on the outskirts of one of Cuba's provincial cities, in a tiny reception room with decrepit furniture and peeling paint. Even though Fr. José had a rotund face that radiated good humor, there was an otherworldliness in his manner, like that of the Solidarity priests I knew in the old days in Poland. The Cuban secret service's favorite extermination method is simply running someone over with a police car, and Fr. José has had a couple of brushes with death recently.

But having faced martyrdom, he had clearly passed the threshold of fear. "What's this?" I pointed to an unframed painting with animals in jolly colors and a bold red hammer and sickle in the center. The Communist symbol was upside down, with a broken white line in the middle of the sickle leading up to a hut perched on top of the handle of the hammer. "It's an allegory of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* by our local artist," he explained. "The road markings on the sickle are meant to say that the road of the revolution leads to the pigsty."

Fr. José then explained how he would distribute the 500 doses of antibiotics donated by the Solidarity trade union that I had brought to prisoners, among them opposition activists who had received long sentences following the crackdown on dissent two years ago. (Medicines are crucial because one of the milder persecutions the regime metes out is spraying the cell walls with foul water, which gives inmates skin diseases in a matter of days.) Assistance like this, in addition to alleviating suffering, also gives the parish more clout, making it an enclave of civil society outside the regime's control. The regime knows this, of course, which is why all of Fr. Jose's requests for a permit to build a community center have been refused. Instead, the Communist government gives support to the local version of voodoo, which has fewer subversive foreign links.

Mr. Sikorski is the executive director of the New Atlantic Initiative at the American Enterprise Institute, and the former deputy foreign minister of Poland.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN THE COMMUNIST BASTION

I had arrived in Cuba as a tourist, bearing my Polish passport. My luggage was searched minutely. My heart raced when they discovered the box of antibiotics but, curiously, they didn't even ask me for whom such a large quantity of medicine was intended. Instead, the young customs officer focused on the copy of *Playboy* I had put next to the drugs. The centerfold perked him up and he called for his superior. Should we confiscate? I understood him asking. The older man let it pass; I was grateful to be thought of as just another degenerate Westerner.

My destination was one of the resorts on Cuba's southern coast, within driving distance of Guantánamo. Like other havens for foreigners, the resort was surrounded by a fence with guards on all sides, natives admitted as staff only. The clientele were mainly elderly Canadians and Europeans of the sort who enjoy organized gymnastics on the beach. There was something East German about the ambience: regimented entertainment and the identity checks at the gate. To my surprise there was Internet access for the foreigners. It was viable but slow, reputedly on account of scrupulous key logging by the Cuban secret service. I eavesdropped as one of the tourist groups staying at the hotel received a pep talk from an official minder, who berated them about the 636 attempts on the life of Fidel Castro that the CIA has supposedly organized. (Surely, they cannot be *that* incompetent?)

shantytowns. Some of them have paved gutters and the odd electric lamppost, but they are still recognizable as slums: open sewage, roofs made with bits of asbestos, old tires for fences, chickens. Most of the productive capacity of the country seems to be idle. The west of the island is an expanse of brown: A recent drought, along with slash-and-burn fires, seems to have finished off what Communist mismanagement had left. In the greener east, I scanned the countryside, flying low for several minutes in a commercial jet: Roughly half the farm buildings seemed abandoned, just skeletons overgrown with weeds.

"What would happen if socialism were introduced in the Sahara desert?" we used to joke in the Soviet days. "There would be shortages of sand." Cuba, once the sugar superpower, is now an importer of sugar. Castro has acknowledged the problem, only to dismiss it: Sugar production is more trouble than it's worth, he argued in a recent speech. (He had once envisioned a crop of 10 million tons per annum.) Paradoxically, Castro may be right about the costs of sugar production. Even if your labor is cheap or free (concentration camps were first invented by Spaniards in Cuba, and labor camps still operate), it can't be very competitive to produce anything with U.S. technology of the 1930s or roughly equivalent Soviet technology of the 1960s. The country long ago defaulted on its long-term sovereign debt, as well as most of its commercial debt, and has ceased to report its economic statistics.

Naturally, Havana is a slum, but it's a slum whose previous beauty and prosperity can still be imagined.

For a former inmate of the camp of progress such as myself, visiting Cuba was peculiar. I felt 20 years younger at the sight of a grubby collective farm named after Lenin. Groups of Communist Youth in red ties such as I had myself resisted wearing at school lined the streets. Communist slogans by the roadside were familiar too—ambitious in rhetoric, pathetic as advertising. Above all, acres and acres of land with no master and therefore littered and overgrown. "Commies love concrete," P. J. O'Rourke observed after a visit to Warsaw, and nothing has changed. And it's not the concrete you see in Italy, the kind that contains so much marble dust it looks like reconstituted stone. Commies like their concrete poured slothfully, creating a patina so dull it positively soaks up light. I had been brought up in Poland on a Communist housing estate, which was bad enough, but here, in the tropics, houses with flat roofs, their concrete walls overgrown with mold, look even more preposterous. Inside there are unplastered walls, weak bulbs hanging on their own wires, doors as rough as a barn's. TV sets and ghetto-blasters stand in rooms that are otherwise medieval in their primitiveness. One gasps to think how hot it must be under those flat roofs at the height of summer without air conditioning.

You can tell you are in a Third World country when you see crowds of young men standing around in village squares with nothing to do. Another indicator is the slums. Whereas at the time of the Batista regime 200,000 people lived in shacks—as I read in a propaganda text put out by the Cuban government—today most of the population of around 11 million seems to be living in

Cuba has been lauded recently in *The Atlantic Monthly* for going back to natural farming, with oxen replacing tractors—which must seem really cool if you are an environmental activist residing in New York or Stockholm. It is also pleasant to ride on Cuba's country lanes with practically no traffic—unless you have to wait in the heat for a truck with an open hold, which is how most country people seem to commute. Critics of consumerism would also find Cuba an inspiration; apart from bits of uniforms and some old cans there is literally nothing to buy in the country's non-dollar-convertible stores.

ECHOES OF GREATNESS

What's odd to a first-time visitor is that this grinding poverty coexists with apparent good cheer. I had always associated Communism in its last gasp with houses unheated in midwinter, rude waiters, and Slavic gloom alleviated by heroic doses of vodka. Here, people are friendly, the girls are pretty, and a breeze from the ocean air tempers the sun. And the music! Sitting on the terrace of Hotel Casa Granda in Santiago—the place frequented by Mr. Wormold in Graham Greene's *Our Man in Havana*—you can hear superb live music from all points of the compass.

Havana is even more impressive. If, like me, you loathe modern architecture, here's a 19th-century city Le Corbusier and his imitators didn't get a chance to destroy. Naturally, it's also a slum—peeling façades, crumbling plaster, smelly doorways and staircases—but it's a slum whose previous beauty and prosperity

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can still be imagined. Old Havana, with its 17th-century forts, solid townhouses, and spacious squares, resembles Málaga or Genoa. You have to go there, in short, to see why Cuba inspires such passion and to feel the rage at the loss of what might have been.

Although it is an extraordinary thing for a Pole to admit, it began to seem to me that Cuba has paid too high a price for independence. If, 120 years ago, Cubans had done nothing, they would today be the richest place in the Caribbean and possibly all of Latin America. As a Spanish colony they would also be enjoying at least an associate membership in the European Union, with all its privileges. They would have avoided a century of war, revolution, and unnecessary military spending. Think of a place nearby that chose to accommodate itself with its mother country: Bermuda is clean, self-governing, self-confident, with a per capita income of $36,000.

There are, however, signs that the Cuban regime may be fraying. The first decision of Uruguay's new leftist president was reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba. One would normally expect Castro to attend the inauguration of such a friendly figure, but he didn't go—so perhaps his health, or his grip on power, is more precarious than we know. On the other hand, someone who competes with the Queen of England for the title of the longest-serving head of state clearly knows a thing or two about the art of survival. His potential rivals, like the veteran general Arnaldo Ochoa, faced the firing squad before they themselves knew that they could threaten him. The ogre continues to anticipate events: One EU ambassador related to me a heated exchange between the Castro brothers at dinner at the Russian ambassador's residence. Raúl argued for dumping the command economy and going the Chinese way toward capitalism. Fidel reportedly responded that, in Cuban conditions, that would lead them to death on a lamppost in a matter of months.

A NEW POLICY

Castro obviously still manages to manipulate nationalism to his advantage; this emotional current, in Cuba as in many other places, clearly trumps the desire for democracy or even a better life. Nationalism, or perhaps even more narrowly a refusal to kneel before the United States, seems to be Castro's only ideological prop. Contrary to his official propaganda, every time he had an opportunity to normalize relations with the U.S. he did something to scuttle it: American hostility and the embargo probably serve his interests just fine. I posed the question of the embargo to Fr. José María. "We appreciate the intention," he replied. "But if it hasn't worked for 40 years, it means it doesn't work and it's made the lives of two generations of Cubans a misery." Other dissidents make a different calculation, but the view of someone who lives on the receiving end of both the Castro regime and U.S. policy carries weight.

The standoff between the U.S. and Cuba seems ultimately not just political, but also psychological. Cubans seem to think that they get noticed by big brother only when they stick him in the eye. Americans seem determined to put the little one in his place. How else do you explain the silliness of barring your citizens from visiting a country you are not actually at war with, or of imposing fines for importing Cuban cigars? We didn't cease to enjoy caviar even at the height of the Gulag. The law should not be an ass, and the U.S. can afford to be pragmatic in its policy toward a country that no longer poses a threat. As Mark Falcoff points out in his brilliant *Cuba: The Morning After*, to keep the embargo while granting Cubans privileges in immigrating to the U.S. is politically self-contradictory: It gives the regime an excuse for failure while simultaneously helping it get rid of its internal opposition.

Everybody else's policy toward Cuba has less to do with the island and everything to do with the U.S. It is therefore no surprise that Spain's new leftist government sent as its ambassador to Cuba a former politburo member of the Spanish Communist party, and that under Spain's pressure many EU countries have ended their "cocktail wars" with Cuba and no longer invite dissidents to their national-day parties. Given Cuba's abysmal credit rating, the $1 billion that France, Germany, and Spain lent it last year is a straightforward subsidy of the regime.

American hostility and the embargo probably serve Castro's interests just fine.

But if neither Old Europe's appeasement nor the U.S. embargo is likely to succeed in changing the regime, perhaps we need a coordinated transatlantic approach that would build on methods that have worked in the past. Human contact across the Iron Curtain was crucial in maintaining the conviction on the other side that democracy and free markets are superior to Communism: Fulbright scholarships that were granted to dissidents and nomenklatura alike helped to create alternative elites and weaned Communists off their zeal. In James Cason, the Bush administration has an imaginative leader of the U.S. interests section on the island, but one suspects that the message he is so energetically conveying would be more credible to some Cubans if it weren't coming directly from the U.S. government.

Regimes change only when their own cadres no longer care to fight for them, and we cannot convince the Cuban nomenklatura to change if their only alternative is hara-kiri. The EU needs to get tougher, but the U.S. also needs to shift—to start wielding the embargo not as a matter of law, but as a political instrument. Its sudden lifting, for example, perhaps at the first signs of a post-Castro regime's introduction of market reforms, would shake Cuba's political system to its foundations.

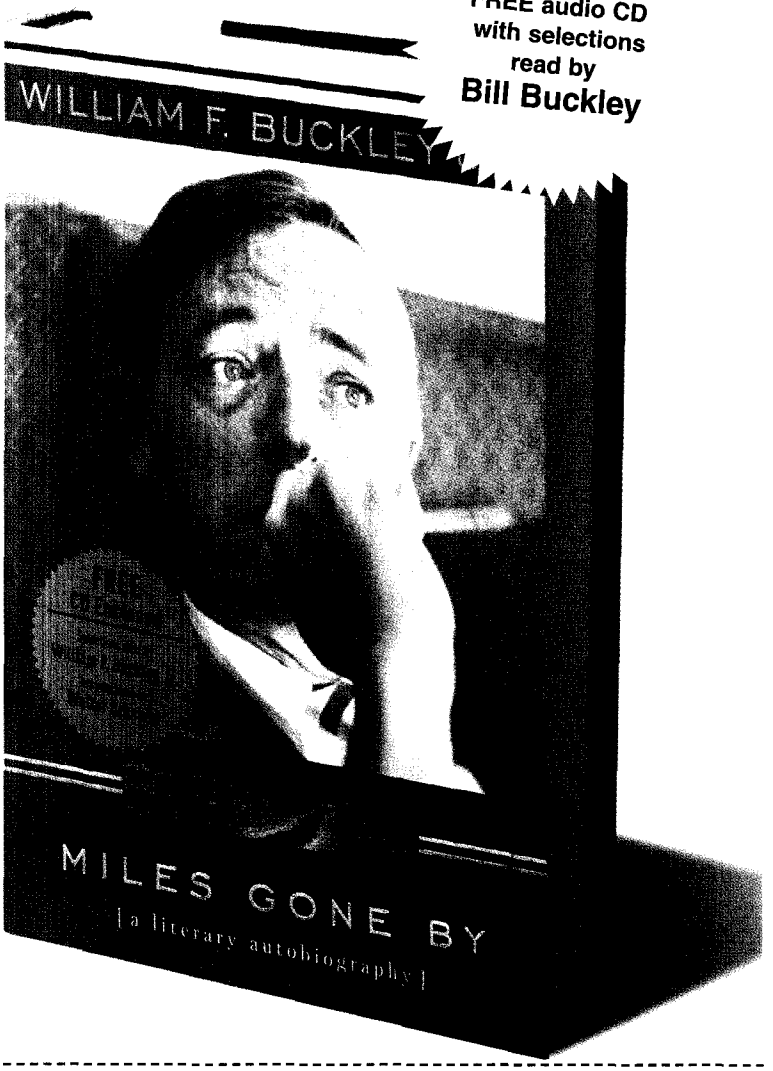
Unless something gives soon, there's a third force that might complicate our calculations. China has made significant investments in Cuba's nickel industry, and diplomats in Havana report frequent Chinese military delegations in civilian disguise. Cuba has always needed a patron, and who better than a semi-Communist dictatorship on a long-term collision course with the U.S.? The relationship makes sense for China. One day she may be in a position to make the U.S. a reasonable offer: You support a troublesome island off our coast, and we support a troublesome island off your coast; let's both call it quits. The U.S. needs to act before it comes to that. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

...D NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

GET YOUR PERSONALLY AUTOGRAPHED COPY OF *William F. Buckley Jr.'s MILES GONE BY*

Includes FREE audio CD with selections read by **Bill Buckley**



PRAISE FOR WFB & *MILES GONE BY*

"Bill Buckley is the most consequential journalist and most skillful controversialist of our time."

—George Will

" ... in lieu of a memoir, Buckley has brought out a self-anthology of previously published 'scenes and essays in which I figure directly—a narrative survey of my life, at work and play.' Delightfully readable in its own right, *Miles Gone By: A Literary Autobiography* also does much to explain how Bill Buckley—as everybody calls him—made so lasting an impression on American life."

—Baltimore Sun

"*Miles Gone By: A Literary Autobiography* elegantly reminds us what difference one human being, properly placed and equipped, can make in the life of his time."

—William Murchison

The long-awaited memoir of America's most influential public figure of the last two generations is here. William F. Buckley Jr.'s ***Miles Gone By: A Literary Autobiography*** weaves together scores of celebrated writings by *National Review*'s esteemed founder, creating a masterful and engaging overview of the life of a man whose determination, skill, talents, and persona played a central role in forming and shaping the American political scene.

Editor, acclaimed novelist, *Firing Line* host, syndicated columnist, debater, speaker, unrivaled wordsmith, sailor, mayoral candidate, harpsichord player, and peanut-butter aficianado, Buckley is a Renaissance Man whose amazing life is captured in this special book—a must for his fans and admirers. You will delight in reading about the young Bill and the colorful Buckley clan, his college years (the basis for his controversial bestseller *God and Man at Yale*), his famous 1965 campaign for mayor of New York City, his passions (sailing, wine, Bach), his faith, his friends (David Niven, Henry Kissinger, Roger Moore, Clare Boothe Luce), and so very much more.

Now you can get your special copy of ***Miles Gone By***—personally autographed by Mr. Buckley—direct from *NR* for only $49.95 (includes shipping and handling). Your keepsake copy of ***Miles Gone By*** will include a special CD that includes selections read by WFB (and an Introduction from Walter Cronkite).

Miles Gone By is a joy—because of the excellent and often touching prose that fills its 584 pages, because it is an unrivaled memoir, and because it will surely rekindle warm personal memories of those exciting times when conservatism was young and vibrant and on the march, led by WFB and his brassy fortnightly magazine. Reward yourself: Get your personally autographed copy today of ***Miles Gone By***.

National Review ◆ 215 Lexington Avenue ◆ New York, NY ◆ 10016

Send me _____ personally autographed copies of William F. Buckley Jr.'s literary autobiography, ***Miles Gone By***. My cost is $49.95 for each book, which includes shipping and handling. I am enclosing total payment of $_____. Send to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

NY State residents must add sales tax.
Foreign orders add $5.00US per order.

PAYMENT METHOD:

☐ Check enclosed (payable to *National Review*)

☐ Bill my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the long view

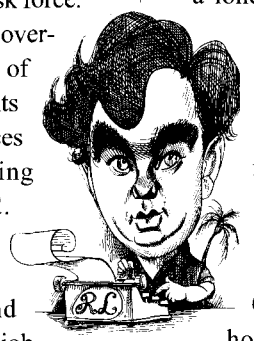
ROB LONG

From "The Blue Helmet"

. . . the United Nations Employee Mental Health Task Force Newsletter, September 2005 issue . . .

Q&A

Q. I am on the staff of the United Nations Security Council Accounting Management (UNSCAM) task force. Obviously, in our work, we oversee the transfer of vast sums of money from various accounts to literally thousands of places across the globe, including hundreds in Switzerland. And although we all try our hardest to keep track of every little transfer and account, it's not the easiest job in the world, obviously. We've only got about 3,800 employees in our task force, including the various Annans, and it's very hurtful and very stressful when the new U.S. ambassador, John Bolton, keeps demanding a "list" of checks to this or that payee, or when he sneers at our lack of proficiency with Excel spreadsheets. What can we do about this? I'm almost out of mental-health days.



A. When people lash out, as seems to be the case with the new U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, John Bolton, it's almost always because the person exhibiting hostile and/or anti-social behaviors is afraid. Try, if you can, to see things from Ambassador Bolton's point of view. He's new to the U.N., maybe doesn't know his way around the buildings yet, trying to make a good impression on his fellow ambassadors. And maybe demanding lists of checks and accounting documents is his way of saying "Help! I'm frightened! Be my friend!" You and your co-workers might want to defuse the situation by having a "get to know you"-type social event at a nearby Friday's or something. Maybe "kidnap" the ambassador for the afternoon and take him to Central Park for a picnic and an impromptu scavenger hunt. Be creative! Just remember that all of his scowls and sneers and mean-spirited comments mask a hurt and a loneliness that you and your co-workers can heal. And you know what? You'll not only create a better working environment, you just might make a new friend. Hugs, the UNEMHTF staff.

Q. I have spent the past two hours in tears. The new U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, John Bolton, made what I interpreted to be a very offensive and very demeaning remark about the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. It was during our weekly luncheon, and it was right after one of our most respected and committed members—the delegate from Libya—made a short speech in which he spoke briefly about the events at Abu Ghraib prison. Bolton rolled his eyes and said, "This from a guy from Libya?" and all of us at the table were just aghast. My voice was trembling and I guess the ambassador could see the shock on my face, because he said, "Shouldn't the U.N. Commission on Human Rights have slightly higher standards?" At which point I burst into tears and left the table. It's been very difficult to get back to work. What do you suggest?

A. In the first place, please don't be in any kind of hurry to "get back to work," as you put it. What you've just been through was undoubtedly traumatic and painful, and the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights can certainly wait a while as you heal. But healing isn't a one-way street. What happened at that table was abuse, pure and simple. And what you need to do is to reclaim your self-power by confronting your abuser. This doesn't have to be an in-person thing; you can write a letter to the ambassador telling him why what he said was so painful. Use action verbs like "devastate" and "empower." Describe the hurt in as much detail as you can. What did it feel like inside? What color was it? That sort of thing. Then send the letter and take a two-month leave of absence while you work on yourself.

Q. Last month, you answered my letter about Ambassador John Bolton by suggesting that I try the technique of "blending," where one person tries to defuse a potential confrontation by outlining areas of agreement. For instance, you suggested that the next time he and I get into a discussion about the efficacy of United Nations peacekeeping task forces, I "blend" our points of view. Last week, I did just that, saying, "Well, Ambassador, I can certainly see why a person might think United Nations peacekeeping task forces are a joke, what with their inaction during the massacres in the former Yugoslavia, collusion with the genocidal forces in Rwanda, and impotence confronting the mass killings in Darfur, but you'll have to agree that . . ." At which point I forgot my point. He just kept staring at me. I completely forgot what I was going to say, and in the end had to concede that yes, U.N. peacekeeping task forces are kind of a joke. I have since left the U.N. to pursue a job in Internet advertising. My question is: Is there an easy way to roll over my 401(k) plan into the profit-sharing plan that my current employer administrates?

A. No.

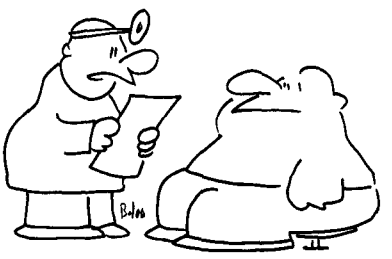
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP!!!!

Kerry's Case

He's on Lugar's committee, so
He pops up now and then
To bleat about Ohio or
Showcase big hair again.
Like Boney bound for Elba, John
Is plotting a return,
But flotsam from the Fonda book
Keeps floating by astern.

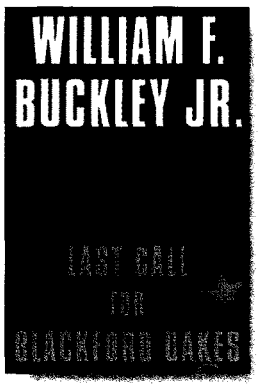
—W. H. von Dreele



"Well, then—I want you to keep trying different foods until you find one that *doesn't* taste good."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Made in America



Last Call for Blackford Oakes, by William F. Buckley Jr. (Harcourt, 368 pp., $25)

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

When Bill Buckley set out in 1975 to write the first of eleven novels featuring CIA operative Blackford Oakes, he tells us in his autobiography *Miles Gone By*, he did so "with only a single idea in mind. And that idea was to commit literary iconoclasm. I would write a book in which the good guys and the bad guys were actually distinguishable from one another. I took a deep breath and further resolved that the good guys would be—the Americans." Furthermore, the novel he proposed to write would leave no doubt "that the CIA, whatever its failures, seeks to advance the honorable alternative in the struggle for the world."

Needless to say, this wasn't the accepted view of the CIA being peddled in the popular culture of the 1970s, to say nothing of the version being sold today. As a typical example of what we've been fed, Buckley singles out a Robert Redford movie, "the point of which is that the CIA is a corrupt and bloody-minded secret instrument of an amoral government." Reinforcing this view were "novels by Graham Greene, and John le Carré, and Len Deighton . . . their point being, really, that there is little to choose between the KGB and the CIA."

To drive their point home, "ideological egalitarians" who write novels with titles like *The Ugly American* create CIA protagonists with "appropriately disfiguring personal characteristics . . . late-middle-aged, a paunchy alcoholic, a cuckold who ruminates late at night when well along in booze that—after all—who really is to answer so indecipherable a question as whether the United States is all that much better than the Soviet Union? The KGB and the CIA . . . really engage in the same kind of thing, and what they do defines them, not why they do it, right?"

And so, to correct the record and counter the approved popular image of the paunchy, boozy, maundering CIA relativist, Bill Buckley created Blackford Oakes—a protagonist "*distinctively* American." A primary characteristic of "the distinctively American male," writes Buckley, "is I think spontaneity. A kind of freshness born of curiosity and enterprise and native wit." Freshness, curiosity, enterprise—and there was *Saving the Queen*, with the young, handsome, distinctively American CIA agent in bed with the Queen of England, shortly after his creation. "There is something distinctively, wonderfully American, it struck me, about bedding down a British queen," Buckley writes, "a kind of arrant but lovable presumption."

Now, 30 years after his literary birth, it's *Last Call for Blackford Oakes*—1987–88, Gorbachev/glasnost time, and Oakes has ranged the world, operating in Moscow, Berlin, East Germany (surely the most peculiar state ever created), Hungary, Vietnam, Cuba, and throughout the strange gray alternative universe that was the old Soviet Empire. He's a little tired now, older, pushing past 60, his hair mostly gray, "no longer eye-catchingly handsome, but ruggedly attractive," and sadder, having lost his wife, Sally, whom he adored. Just a little less arrant, but still engagingly presumptuous, and still characterized by "a certain worldliness that is neither bookish nor in any sense of the word anti-intellectual"—in short, still distinctively American.

Again, as in *A Very Private Plot* (1994), there appears to be a plot against Gorbachev being hatched in Moscow, and both Oakes and President Reagan believe it in the interests of the U.S. to keep Gorbachev alive. Oakes persuades Reagan to send him to Moscow, where, with the help of Gus Windels—a young CIA operative born in Ukraine and raised in Iowa who works out of the embassy in Moscow and posed as Oakes's son in *A Very Private Plot*—he discovers that the rumors are overblown. During his investigation, in his role as Harry Doubleday, a book promoter with ties to the U.S. Information Agency, he's introduced by Gus to Ursina Chadinov, a medical doctor and professor at Moscow University: an unusually lovely woman, with a quick wit and lively imagination. Doubleday/Oakes, still sufficiently presumptuous and arrant, and after the death of Sally a deeply lonely man, reacts as any normal male would. The attraction is mutual, the romantic scenes are fresh and tasteful, and the dialogue sparkles.

Mr. Coyne, a longtime NR contributor and former White House speechwriter, is a communications consultant based in Chicago.

LAI WITH SOUNDS OF SKIN

Shall we dress in skin,
our living linen?
Bone weft,
pull of masculine
into feminine,
the heft,
the warp, weave, and spin
of carded days in

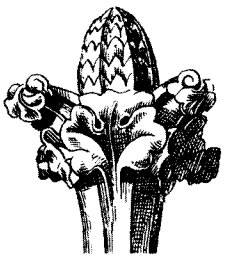
tightly twisted thin
yarns that we begin—
like wool
like *will*, like *has been*,
spoken to silken—
to spool:
thick bolts of linen,
skein to skin to skin.

—CHRYSS YOST

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As their romance plays out, an International Peace Forum is being held in Moscow, the primary aim of which is "the consolidation of sentiment among liberal internationalists against the U.S. program for an anti-missile missile." Among the invitees are Gore Vidal, Norman Mailer (who in the 1987 *Mongoose R.I.P.* is identified by Raúl Castro as *Herman* Mailer), and Graham Greene. Ursina is chosen to deliver a welcoming address at the forum, and Greene, we discover, is a close friend of Andrei Fyodorovich Martins, who has just married Ursina's best friend, Rufina. There is a dinner party, books are discussed, and Oakes makes a chilling discovery: Martins is actually the British master spy and traitor Kim Philby.

From here, the plot unfolds rapidly. Ursina, inspired by her romance with Oakes and carrying his child, prepares the draft of a speech that appalls the KGB and is censored. Philby, certain that Doubleday/Oakes is much more than a book promoter, sets in motion an operation that uncovers his identity, then works with the KGB to get to Oakes through Ursina, with tragic results. Back in the United States, Oakes is devastated, retreating into a Howard Hughes–like solitude, from which he is finally jolted by gloating communiqués from Philby. He returns to action, crosses swords with Philby and the KGB, and the novel comes to a quick and explosive climax. The fallout from the conclusion will affect readers in different ways; suffice it to say that Blackford Oakes does what we would have expected of him.



The plot of *Last Call* is intricate and well developed. But equally interesting is the development of character, and particularly the characters of Philby and Graham Greene. In earlier novels—with Boris Bolgin in *Saving the Queen*, Erika Chadinoff in *Stained Glass*, Cecilio Velasco in *See You Later Alligator*—we've seen how Communists are made, and the process has been described with sympathy and understanding. For Philby, however—cold and reptilian, a traitor unapologetically responsible for the death of countless freedom-seekers during the Cold War years—there is no sympathy.

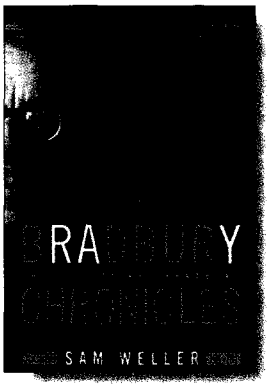
For Graham Greene—Philby's (and Communism's) dupe—there is a certain tolerant regard: the sort of tolerance usually reserved for very beautiful women, drunken Irish tenors with beautiful tremolos, and hopelessly naïve writers who write beautiful sentences. In a splendid scene, Buckley shows us Greene prattling on—oblivious to Philby's thinly veiled contempt—about Communism and Catholicism joining forces. In real life, Greene wrote the foreword to Philby's *My Silent War*, a factor that may help account for that book's success. Buckley remarks: "Writing the introduction was, for Greene, one more chapter in the lifelong book in which he tried to find a philosophical star fixed enough to warrant full-time servitude."

And in the end, this is what the Blackford Oakes novels set out to show us: We have found in the United States a fixed philosophical star, and, as Buckley put it in his essay on the birth of Blackford Oakes, "any failure by beneficiaries of the free world [the Graham Greenes, for instance] to recognize what it is that we have here, over against what it is they would impose upon us, amounts to a moral and intellectual nihilism."

In 1981, Eric Ambler told Herbert Mitgang of the *New York Times* that "thrillers are respectable now. . . . They really say more about the way people think and governments behave than many of the conventional novels. A hundred years from now . . . these books may offer some clues to what was going on in our world." And what was going on in our world? For one thing, there was a Cold War—what some called the Third World War—and the good guys, the Free World nations, led by the United States, won it. That's something that's very hard to swallow for those "great ideological egalitarians" like John le Carré, whose latest novel, according to an *Atlantic Monthly* reviewer, is "an anti-imperialist rant" and le Carré's "first truly bad novel."

But the point here is not the God that Failed. It is, rather, the Side that Won. America won the Cold War. It was a victory made in America. And it was a victory earned by men and women who believed passionately in the ideals and values that Blackford Oakes represents and personifies. **NR**

The Masterly Bradbury



The Bradbury Chronicles: The Life of Ray Bradbury, by Sam Weller (William Morrow, 400 pp., $26.95)

JAMES E. PERSON JR.

LONG ago, within the living memory of very few people, there were fire-balloons. These delicate fireworks—each a colorful paper balloon designed to be filled with the breath of a small fire in a miniature basket hung underneath—were carefully lit and sent skyward into the night on special occasions. They seem to have been especially popular in the small-town American Midwest. Ray Bradbury remembers being five years old and watching his grandfather light and release a fire-balloon outside the older man's home in Waukegan, Ill., on the Fourth of July in 1925: He and his grandfather together "held the flickering bright-angel presence in our hands a final moment in front of a porch lined with uncles and aunts and cousins and mothers and fathers, and then, very softly, let the thing that was life and light and mystery go out of our fingers up on the summer air and away over

Mr. Person is the author of *Russell Kirk: A Critical Biography of a Conservative Mind* and the forthcoming biography *Earl Hamner: From Walton's Mountain to Tomorrow* (Cumberland House).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the beginning-to-sleep houses, among the stars, as fragile, as wondrous, as vulnerable, as lovely as life itself." Tears filled his eyes during this timeless moment—tears of joy, love, and a bittersweet sense of loss amid the beauty of life.

This sense of wonder—of gratitude at having lived—pervades Bradbury's fiction. It also fills Chicago-based journalist Sam Weller's excellent biography of a legendary figure, a small-town man with a gargantuan imagination, who was awarded the National Medal of Arts by President Bush in 2004 and turns 85 this year. As Weller shows in his detailed but lively book, it seemed unlikely at the beginning of Bradbury's life that such honors were in store for him.

Born in 1920, young Bradbury was gifted with the strange mixture of a remarkable memory (he claims to remember his own birth and his first few weeks of life), a brooding temperament, and a loud, gregarious personality. As a youth he was torn between becoming a writer or an actor; for a time, it seemed likely the actor would win out, because his early attempts at short fiction were dismally overwritten and derivative.

But Bradbury pressed on, determined to succeed at his chosen craft through death-grip determination and a strong sense of daring. If there is one recurring image in Weller's biography it is that of a man determined to succeed through single-minded effort, a teachable attitude, and stubborn belief that in time he would prevail. (It was through similar qualities that Weller was able to gain the unprecedented access to Bradbury that made this biography possible. Bradbury had consistently poled off would-be biographers, believing that "I have too much life left to live.") That success indeed came, but only after Bradbury met and cultivated friendships with three writers who shaped his fiction decisively: science-fiction masters Robert Heinlein, Henry Kuttner, and Leigh Brackett. From Heinlein he learned that all good stories concern human beings; from Kuttner he learned to write simply and avoid purple prose; and from Brackett he learned how to develop plots and how to pare his stories to their ideal form.

Bradbury's tales spring from a fecund moral imagination, which Russell Kirk defined as man's power to perceive ethical truth, abiding law, and what we ought to be, amid the seeming chaos of life.

Weller tells how Bradbury—having moved with his parents from Waukegan to Los Angeles, where he struggled at his craft during the late 1930s and early 1940s—disciplined himself to write one short story per week, believing that with that sort of productivity he stood a better chance of catching a magazine editor's eye. He published his first story in 1938 and never looked back, placing his work in the sci-fi and fantasy "pulps" for many years before breaking into the "slicks," such as the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Playboy*. Bradbury has maintained the practice of writing a story every week *for six decades*.

His tales spring from a fecund moral imagination, which one of his friends, conservative man of letters Russell Kirk, defined as man's power to perceive ethical truth, abiding law, and what we ought to be, amid the seeming chaos of life. "It is the strange faculty—inexplicable if men are assumed to have an animal nature only—of discerning greatness, justice, and order, beyond the bars of appetite and self-interest," wrote Kirk. If there is any area of Weller's otherwise admirable book in which more might have been said, it is on this particular aspect of Bradbury's work, which has occasionally been sneered at as excessively moralistic.

Weller makes plain the breadth of Bradbury's imagination. Consider the sheer number of memorable short stories. Any American reader who came of age during the past 50 years has encountered at least a half-dozen of the titles in the following list of often-anthologized stories: "There Will Come Soft Rains," "The Whole Town's Sleeping," "The Illustrated Man," "The Jar," "The Lake," "The Wonderful Ice-Cream Suit," "The Smile," "Good-by, Grandma," "The Veldt," "The Pedestrian," "The Other Foot," "The Fog Horn," and "The Crowd." Weller provides information and insight on the writing of many of these stories. "The Pedestrian," for example, was inspired by a curious event that occurred one night when Bradbury and a friend were out for a stroll in Los Angeles. They were stopped by a policeman who wanted to know what they were doing. Only partly convinced by Bradbury's explanation that they were simply out for a walk, the cop let them off with a warning: "Well," the officer said, "don't do it again."

Because of the mental laziness of his critics, Bradbury has long been wrongly labeled a science-fiction writer. Weller correctly notes that science fiction is only one aspect of Bradbury's work. Bradbury might better be described as a fantasist or a teller of tales. Each work of fiction, whether it be the short stories or the novels for which he is also renowned—*The Martian Chronicles* (1950), *Fahrenheit 451* (1953), and *Dandelion Wine* (1957)—reflects enduring interests he developed during his boyhood: in magic, dinosaurs, the supernatural, and such elements of

LEGACY
WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

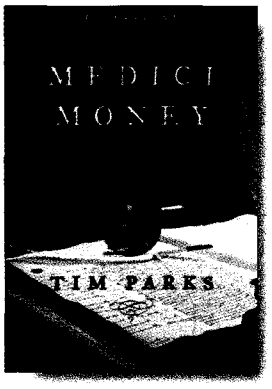
early-20th-century pop culture as carnivals, movies, and Buck Rogers comics. Weller aptly quotes an interview in which Bradbury summarized the pop-culture influences on his life: "'A conglomerate heap of trash, that's what I am,' Bradbury said with a laugh. 'But it burns with a high flame.'"

Portions of popular culture rise over time into the realm of higher culture; Bradbury embraces both levels. Thus the man who helped create such films as *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* and *It Came from Outer Space* could also write the script for John Huston's 1953 classic adaptation of *Moby Dick*. (Weller's description of Bradbury's tortuous relationship with Huston during the writing of *Moby Dick* is especially good, capturing the confusion and anguish Bradbury experienced as he was alternately praised and cruelly undercut by the legendary director.)

Weller's book is both admiring and honest. He writes matter-of-factly about the joys and struggles of Bradbury's 56-year marriage to Marguerite ("Maggie") McClure, who worked to support her husband's career during its early years, raised their four daughters, and forgave him much. Maggie's death in 2003 was a terrible blow to Bradbury, but he endured; despite her loss, the death of his longtime friends, and the effects of a stroke he suffered in 1999, Bradbury retains a hopeful attitude, the same view of life he confided to Russell Kirk a generation ago: "I accept the whole damn thing. It is neither all beautiful nor all terrible, but a wash of multitudinous despairs and exhilarations about which we know nothing. Our history is so small, our experience so limited, our science so inadequate, our theologies so crammed in mere matchboxes, that we know we stand on the outer edge of a beginning and our greatest history lies before us, frightening and lovely, much darkness and much light."

Long ago, there were fire-balloons and small-town carnivals. At one such carnival that camped near Waukegan, a mysterious, glowing performer known as "Mr. Electrico" gently touched young Ray Bradbury with an electrified sword and, amid the pulsing glare, commanded the wide-eyed boy, "Live forever!" By his own humanistic vision, industry, and literary genius—as recounted in Sam Weller's impressive biography—he just may do that. **NR**

Filthy Lucre



Medici Money: Banking, Metaphysics, and Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence, by Tim Parks (Norton, 224 pp., $22.95)

ALEXANDER ROSE

THIS is a most unusual book, perhaps because it's part of a thoughtful new series that aims to present "the business book as literature." The volume is not detailed enough to serve as a true biography of the dynasty—like Christopher Hibbert's *The House of Medici: Its Rise and Fall* or, more recently, Paul Strathern's breathless *The Medici: Godfathers of the Renaissance*—or as a history of the period. Renaissance specialists will learn nothing from Tim Parks that hasn't been said before—which is not meant as a swipe at Parks, who acknowledges that he must rely on the works of others because he finds the crabbed paleography of the documents too difficult to decipher.

But the general reader *will* learn from this book a great deal about the era, and those who bestrode it, without getting bogged down in excessive scholarly detail. Even so, they may find, as I confess I did, that one's eyes glaze over about halfway through, when Parks begins to narrate the dizzying intricacies of inter-Italian diplomacy. This section is not badly written—Parks's style is chatty rather than desiccated—but it is confusing and over-compressed. Though the author's descriptions of Florentine ballot-rigging are entertaining, one pangs for a juicy Medici murder to liven things up.

Parks excels when he sticks to what he promises on the cover: a book about the Medicis' money, and the interplay of banking, metaphysics, and art. The title is not *entirely* accurate: There's relatively little discussion of art, Lord-Clark-of-*Civilization*-style, with Parks instead ruminating, in best "business book as literature" fashion, on the interaction of cash and religion. These two ostensibly competing elements worked to justify one another—the rich man piously thanking the Lord for showering him with shekels, in return for which blessing he endows the Church—and reached compromises to preserve social order. Rome, for instance, banned usury as against nature on the grounds that when money copulated it produced a monstrous offspring, "interest." In the course of a normal business day, therefore, a banker would violate not only moral law but also several Biblical precepts (see Luke, for example: "Give, without hoping for return"), yet still credit was extended and money lent—to the Church, not infrequently. The two poles of God and Gold were somehow reconciled, but only when both parties did a lot of blind-eye-turning, some nose-holding, and a bit of mutual hand-washing.

This certainly worked out for the Medicis. The Pope needed the Medici bank's expertise to stay liquid, and in return their filthy lucre was laundered by papal blessings. Consider the time when Cosimo de' Medici paid to restore the Monastery of San Marco and received a

FOUNDED 1964
TRADITIONALIST CATHOLIC MOVEMENT CTM INC
Catholic Traditionalist Movement, Inc.
If you cannot physically attend a
TRADITIONAL LATIN ROMAN CATHOLIC MASS,
the next best thing is to join one spiritually
by visiting AN INTERNET WEBSITE WITH
AROUND-THE-CLOCK VIDEO LATIN MASS
www.latinmass-ctm.org as presented by the
CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT, INC.
Father Gommar A. De Pauw, J.C.D.
Founder - President
210 Maple Avenue
Westbury, New York 11590
Tel. (516) 333-6470
Fax. (516) 333-7535

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

papal bull absolving him of all his sins, which were as considerable as one might expect: sweet deal. Parks writes that Cosimo was aware of "those blind spots that allow for some useful exchange between metaphysics and money," just as "the Church would pretend that all this beauty was exclusively for the glory of God" and had nothing to do with Cosimo's megalomania. But, a clear-eyed Parks continues, "without such dishonesty, the world would be a duller place." True enough, and it's nice to see some of the Medicis' purchased pieties not taken as seriously as the family would have liked.

Money and religion sought accommodation because they persisted in a state of dynamic tension. Again, take the Church's ban on usury, the raison d'être of banking: This decision obliged merchants to invent impressively imaginative ways of circumventing it. Consequently, while the facts of banking remained conservative—assessing risk for a living, after all, predisposes a man towards skepticism and temperance—the ban turned the practice into a subversive, creative outlet that threatened to break the Church's power even as it buttressed it.

I don't, however, agree with the argument—advanced by several conservative commentators—that, apart from the usury brouhaha, a forward-looking Church helped foment capitalism by overseeing a continental single market that smashed the "anachronistic" feudalistic system, thus enabling Europe's economic take-off and rise to mastery. But then neither do I assume, as Parks does, that the Church was an inherently reactionary force, the implication being that the Medicis' Renaissance unleashed socioeconomic forces that extinguished a theocratic, medieval world "lit only by fire" (as the title of William Manchester's dreadful book put it).

So, *was* the Church slitting its own throat by getting into bed with its bankers? Parks thinks so, for he says that usury creates motion in society, and allows the talented and the thrifty to rise above their divinely allotted station. The author makes a strong case in this respect, but I think the argument works only if one exaggerates the stodginess of the Middle Ages. There was, in fact, plenty of social dynamism in medieval society—almost as much as in our own, as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* amply demonstrate. Upward mobility, too: Between 1295 and 1300, 136 English barons were summoned to Edward I's parliament; by 1500, fully 120 of these noble lines had become extinct through disease, ineptitude, misfortune, or impotence. They were replaced by obscure families captained by "men raised from the dust," as one complaint ran against Henry II, who liked promoting the meritorious to keep his barons and clerics on their toes.

Their elevation to power—owing mostly to a facility for commerce and royal lending—rarely had much to do with the Church, or religion at all. One gets the impression that successful merchants were, like the poetically revolutionary Chaucer himself, conventionally pious fellows (fish on Fridays, snooze through a sermon on Sundays, etc.) who didn't worry too much about either finding a moral "accommodation" with Rome or existing in dynamic tension with it. They just sort of muddled through and hoped the king didn't default.

Parks does have an excellent section on banking practice, and explains very lucidly many financial concepts alien to modern readers, though I found it at times a little light on context. There's little or no analysis of the 12th-century renaissance, which is when the apparatus of banking—for example, double-entry bookkeeping—was invented; the 15th-century Medicis restricted themselves to tweaking the older practices. Also, there's virtually nothing on the role the Italian banks played in royal financing, the flow of cash and credit allowing kings to recruit armies and build navies larger than feudalism—with its emphasis on bonds of kinship and local affinities—had ever conceived. Arguably, the interest rate was more important than the Psalter in propelling Europe to world domination.

Enough about my caveats; perhaps Parks was right to leave that stuff out to concentrate on his Medicis. Indeed, what he has set out to do he has succeeded admirably in doing, and *Medici Money* makes a very fine entry in a promising series. **NR**

■ ARTS ■

The Music Teacher

Leonard Bernstein's Young People's Concerts
(Kultur DVD, $149.95)

JAMES PANERO

HERE is a recipe for a sure-fire television flop: Pack 3,000 children into a concert hall and have them sit perfectly still. Check. Perform classical music for an hour. Check. Hire conductor with self-described "lurking didactic streak" to work up music lessons and narrate instruction. Check. Use terms—such as "bitonality," "intervals," "glissando," and "whole-tone scale"—that even most educated adults don't know. Check. Inform audience that "My baby does the Hanky Panky" was written in the Mixolydian mode. Check. Perform Haydn's Symphony No. 88, elicit applause, then exclaim, "Well, it was all wrong!" Check. Ask children to get out "paper and pencils, please" in order to identify the composer, nationality, date, style, and form of two pieces—then perform a Mozart sonata and Prokofiev's Classical Symphony back to back. Check. Insist that Rossini's *William Tell* Overture has nothing to do with *The Lone Ranger* but consists merely of "Cs and As and Fs and even F sharps and E flats." Check. Explain: "No matter what stories people tell you about what music means, forget them. Stories are not what music means. Music just is." Check. Now combine these ingredients into 53 hour-long concerts performed at Carnegie Hall and Lincoln Center, and broadcast them in prime-time and weekend timeslots on CBS: Guaranteed to fail.

Well, Max Bialystok: Meet Leonard Bernstein.

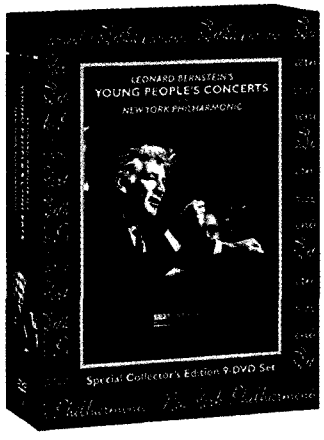
Leonard Bernstein's *Young People's Concerts* aired over 14 seasons from

Mr. Panero is the associate editor of *The New Criterion*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1958 to 1972 and were broadcast in nearly 30 countries. The show became a smash hit with over 20 million viewers—beating out *Bonanza* in Europe—and the high-water mark of network-television programming. Parents famously signed their children up for the concert series at birth. Through television Bernstein fathered a generation of classical-music lovers. You might just be one of them.

Twenty-five hours of the *Young People's Concerts* have now been released on DVD. The news should not be taken lightly. It should rather be taken as a cue to throw down this magazine and order your copies immediately. As a boon to home-schoolers and to parents concerned with the state of music education today, these DVDs will be invaluable. Just about anyone—adults and children alike—will find a great deal to take away from the episodes. Bernstein's convincing theories on the connection of folk music to national style are just one example (Episode 9: "Folk Music in the Concert Hall"). The series also includes complete performances of Stravinsky's *Petrouchka* (Episode 11: "Happy Birthday, Igor Stravinsky") and Shostakovich's Symphony No. 9 (Episode 19: "A Birthday Tribute to Shostakovich"); Aaron Copland guest conducts part of his Symphony No. 3 (Episode 2: "What is American Music?").



The appearance of the episodes improves as the series progresses. The foggy black-and-white episodes from Carnegie Hall in 1958 give way to the result of the millions of dollars' worth of equipment commandeered for the Philharmonic Hall shoots of the early 1970s. But while the clarity of the video track depends on the technologies of the day, the remastered sound of the New York Philharmonic is of consistent high quality. For the run of the show the format of the episodes remained the same, with Bernstein and director/producer Roger Englander maintaining the effect of live performance by eschewing studio work and postproduction editing.

(The shows' simplicity was deceptive; each episode required over a month to write, with that second-oboe close-up and audience cut-away shot timed perfectly to the music.)

"If you get all that," Bernstein announced in one episode, "you're the future conductor of the New York Philharmonic." He meant it. The success of the *Young People's Concerts* depended not only on the receptivity of a certain television audience but also on Bernstein's commanding presence and his faith in innate musical intelligence. He appealed to adults as well as children and differentiated little between his writing for children and the work he had done for an earlier, purely grown-up show he created in the 1950s. The music critic Tim Page remarked that "one senses that Bernstein presumed a greater musical knowledge on the part of his audience of children than most professional critics in the twenty-first century would presume their grown-up readers to have."

The maturing sensibilities of Bernstein's daughter Jamie, his narrative foil, represent the one arc that contributed to the increasing complexity of his lessons. She was six when the episodes started and a teenager plucking a Beatles tune on her guitar by the end. (That's how we arrive at the answer to the question posed in Episode 20: "What is a Mode?" A mode, it turns out, is the basis of understanding Lennon/McCartney's "Norwegian Wood.")

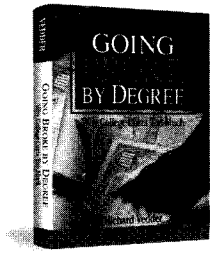
As he revealed in such books as his 1959 *Joy of Music*, Bernstein became obsessed with musical pedagogy. He despised what Virgil Thompson once called the "music-appreciation racket," and warned of the "music-appreciation appreciation" racket. He worried that music—"with its concentration of shapes, lines, and sonorous intensities"—might be fundamentally unexplainable. He said intelligent commentary on music was rare, "even among first-class writers": "The Huxleys and the Manns of this world are few and far between." To this we might add the Bernsteins of the world.

Of course Bernstein's lurking didactic streak hit the wrong note more than once. His urge to educate saw him through six Charles Eliot Norton Lectures at Harvard in which he eagerly grafted a culturally relativistic theory of music onto Noam Chomsky's *Language and Mind*—regrettable, especially since Bernstein gave up writing his *Young People's Concerts* to prepare them.

Lenny also famously hosted a fundraiser for the Black Panther Party in 1970 that became the talk of the town and the subject of Tom Wolfe's *Radical Chic*. The parallels between the final episode collected on these DVDs, "*Fidelio*: A Celebration of Life," and Bernstein's Panther fundraiser are all too clear: In the plot of Beethoven's opera, Leonore, Florestan's wife, disguises herself as a man named Fidelio, and attempts to rescue Florestan from a Spanish prison in which he is being wrongly held for political reasons. The echoes in *Fidelio* of Bernstein's own contortions to raise bail money for Dhoruba Bin Wahad and the Panther 21 are uncanny.

Bernstein could teach Beethoven, but

AEI | AEI Press *publisher for the American Enterprise Institute*



"Professor Vedder expertly and fearlessly dissects the failings of American higher education."
—Chester E. Finn

"Mr. Vedder ingeniously shows that the states that have spent the most on higher education in the past 25 years have experienced the least economic growth."
—The Wall Street Journal

Buy this book and more online at www.aei.org
Get 20% off when you mention source code: NR 405

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could not learn from Beethoven. Only Bernstein knows for sure whether this lurking didactic streak prevented him from composing his own great symphony and leaving a more lasting musical legacy. His most famous composition remains the score for *West Side Story*, a work of popular theater written by a young man.

As conductor, composer, pianist, and educator, Bernstein struggled to be all things. A clue to this conflict comes in the form of Bernstein's empathetic episode—the most personal of the series—on Gustav Mahler. A champion of Mahler's rich orchestral work, as conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic Bernstein brought Mahler back to international prominence after Nazism and the atonalities of 20th-century music had pushed the Romantic (and Jewish-born) composer into obscurity: "Some people say that Mahler's own music sounds too much like all the composers he used to conduct. Naturally, I don't agree . . . Still, I admit it's a problem to be both a conductor and a composer. There never seems to be enough time and enough energy to be both things. I ought to know. Because I have the same problem myself. They are both one fellow called Mahler, or Bernstein. He was a double man in every single part of his musical life."

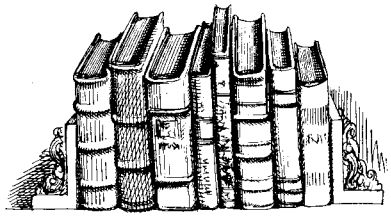
In writing television for children, Bernstein became whole, producing episodes even after he had stepped down as director of the New York Philharmonic in 1969. In the end he composed something more lasting than a symphony. According to Glenn Gould, "in the best and strictest sense of the phrase, [Bernstein had] 'done a great deal of good.'"

The resonance of the *Young People's Concerts* can be summed up in a coda that took place in Denver in 1960: A boy of four or five bounded over to Bernstein in a park and hit him. When he asked the boy why he did it, the child responded: "You didn't say good night to me! . . . You were talking about Mahler!"

"Who is Gustav Mahler?," broadcast on February 7 that year, had run over. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

Benedict's Bookshelf



MICHAEL POTEMRA

FROM the mainstream media—to say nothing of the enraged philippics of self-described "liberal Catholics"—one distills the idea that Pope Benedict XVI is a reactionary brontosaurus bent on reversing Vatican II and cultivating intolerance for all points of view other than pre-1962 Roman Catholicism. One of the easiest ways to assess the accuracy of this charge is . . . well, to consult a *real* reactionary brontosaurus bent on reversing Vatican II, etc. Fortunately, there exists a marvelous website, NovusOrdoWatch.org, which is entertaining, informative, and scathingly uncharitable—and speaks for *precisely* this point of view.

Go on Novus Ordo Watch and you will be greeted with the horrifying news that the new pope persists in the "error" of ecumenism (that is to say, the view that it's okay for Catholics to reach out to Protestants and Eastern Orthodox); that a "Lutheran Likes What He Sees in Benedict XVI"; and that Dr. Rowan Williams—oops, sorry, I meant the "Archlayman of Canterbury"—also "is pleased." And, as if all this weren't bad enough, scroll down and you will find a link to a page from one of Joseph Ratzinger's books, in which the then-cardinal asserted that "the Catholic does not insist on the dissolution of the Protestant confessions and the demolishing of their churches but hopes, rather, that they will be strengthened in their confessions and in their ecclesial reality."

The quote is from Ratzinger's 1987 book, ***Principles of Catholic Theology: Building Stones for a Fundamental Theology*** (398 pp., $31.95), which, like the entire Ratzinger corpus of 22 titles in English, is published by the indispensable Ignatius Press. This suggests an even better way of investigating the mind of the new pope: reading his lucid and reader-friendly books. He is renowned for the breadth of his theological intellect, but most of his English backlist will be rewarding even to the non-scholar.

In this regard, *Principles of Catholic Theology* is not the place to start; it lies toward the more difficult end of Ratzinger's work. For a course in Ratzinger 101, the reader should tackle one of the book-length interviews he has given. In 1985, the first of these, ***The Ratzinger Report: An Exclusive Interview on the State of the Church*** (197 pp., $10.95), made the cardinal a celebrity among English-speaking Catholics. Ratzinger had been one of the key figures at Vatican II, and spoke frankly about how he believed the council had been misunderstood and its intentions thwarted. Against the integralists—those who believe that Vatican II was a heretical repudiation of essential Catholic doctrines—he defends the council as a legitimate expression and expansion of orthodox theology. Against the progressivists—those who see the council as an open-ended license for any change they desire—he argues that "the *letter* of the [council's] documents" is the best place "to discover their true *spirit*." Both groups of opponents view Vatican II as a radical break with tradition; Ratzinger sees it as an organic development.

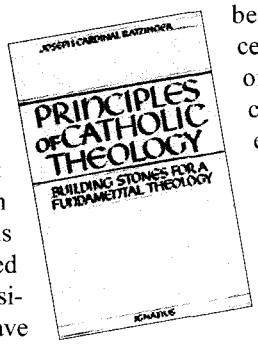
The most recent of these interview books is the 2002 ***God and the World: A Conversation with Peter Seewald*** (460 pp., $18.95). Here, Ratzinger discusses issues across the spectrum of faith, frequently in surprising ways. Asked, for example, about the use of masculine imagery in theology, he responds that while the Bible does refer to God as Father and not as Mother, it's also true that "in images used in talking *about* God it always equally attributes feminine characteristics to him. When, for instance, it is talking about God's sympathy, the Old Testament does not refer to that with the abstract word 'sympathy,' but uses a term with a corporal

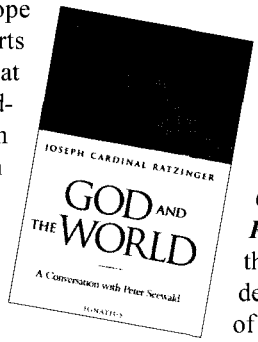
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

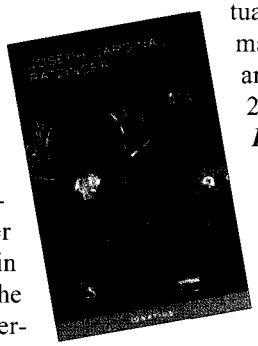
reference, *rachamin*, the 'motherly body' of God, which represents sympathy."

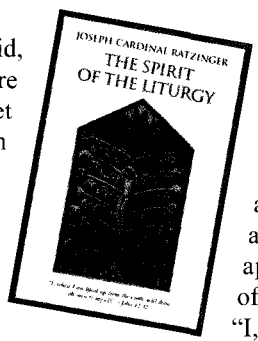
He shows a sensitive appreciation of developments in other denominations, applauding what he sees as "a new vitality" in Protestantism: "The Evangelicals and fundamentalists always used to be typical leaders of the opposition to the papacy. But there have been astonishing changes there, because they can see that the Pope is actually the Rock who asserts before all the world exactly what they confess in opposition to modern versions of watered-down Christianity. So, from a certain point of view, they see the Pope as their strong ally, even though their old reservations have not been cleared away. . . . What we dare to hope for we should await confidently, but with great patience." Lest this be misinterpreted as a belief that Protestants will be simply absorbed into Roman Catholicism, Ratzinger says, "The formula that the great ecumenists have invented is that we go forward together. It's not a matter of our wanting to achieve certain processes of integration. . . . [The Catholic Church] will allow herself to be educated and led by the Lord."

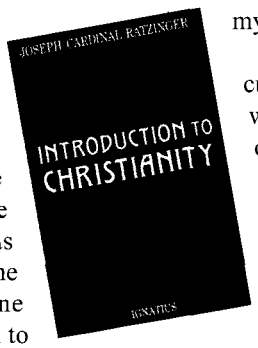
"There are," Ratzinger has said, "as many ways to God as there are people"; it's not possible to get much farther away than that from the media caricature of the Grand Inquisitor. He shows the same basic generosity of spirit in miniature, when he discusses Caiaphas, the Sanhedrin leader who condemned Jesus and has been presented as a pure villain throughout much of history: "As high priest, Caiaphas is responsible for the faith of Israel. Naturally it doesn't occur to him that he might really be condemning the living Son of God to death. He sees in Jesus someone who has done injury to the very heart of the Jewish creed, the belief in one God, by the presumptuous claim to be himself God's Son. And, certainly, he does this in a state of blindness, unable to perceive the mystery; his faith is encapsulated in a formula. We ought not to be too ready to condemn him, since in some way he believes, of course, that he is acting responsibly on behalf of religion."











Ratzinger remains an enthusiastic ecumenist—in one of his first speeches as pope he stressed Christian unity—but he makes clear in his 2004 book, ***Truth and Tolerance: Christian Belief and World Religions*** (284 pp., $15.95), that he is no less committed to defending the core truth claims of his own Catholic faith. He combines here a strong intellectual commitment with a gentle manner—character traits that are equally on display in his 2000 book ***The Spirit of the Liturgy*** (232 pp., $17.95), which addresses another key issue facing him as pope. Ratzinger's theology of the liturgy builds on the strongest possible base: For God to be "all in all," he writes, is not just "the purpose of the world," but also "the essence of sacrifice and worship." The liturgy, therefore, has a cosmic dimension; its goal is "divinization," the bringing about of "a world of freedom and love." It is "the practical application and fulfillment" of Jesus' words in John 12:32: "I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself."

Liturgies that become preoccupied with innovations, and with the personalities of the clergymen, risk losing this profound dimension. To restore a sense of the sacred, some propose restoring the pre-Vatican II practice of having the celebrant face east, the same direction as the congregation. But Ratzinger believes that because "nothing is more harmful to the liturgy than a constant activism, even if it seems to be for the sake of genuine renewal," a compromise might be in order: "Where a direct common turning toward the east is not possible, the cross can serve as the interior 'east' of faith. It should stand in the middle of the altar and be the common point of focus for both priest and praying community."

After making his way through these books, the reader may be hungry for graduate-level Ratzinger—for example, his 1968 book ***Introduction to Christianity*** (380 pp., $16.95), a meditation on the Apostles' Creed. Here he writes of an adult faith in which doubt and belief coexist:

> Both the believer and the unbeliever share, each in his own way, doubt *and* belief, if they do not hide from themselves and from the truth of their being. Neither can quite escape either doubt or belief; for the one, faith is present *against* doubt; for the other, *through* doubt and in the *form* of doubt. . . . [Man exists] in this unceasing rivalry between doubt and belief, temptation and certainty. Perhaps in precisely this way doubt, which saves both sides from being shut up in their own worlds, could become the avenue of communication. It prevents both from enjoying complete self-satisfaction.

For Ratzinger, this struggle is not resolved by existentialism, because "meaning that is self-made is in the last analysis no meaning." Meaning "cannot be made but only received"—and at the heart of his faith is the sense that meaning is present in a "you": "This meaning knows me and loves me, [and] I can entrust myself to it like the child who knows that everything . . . is safe in the 'you' of his mother." All Christian theology, finally, revolves around the basic confession, "I believe in you, Jesus of Nazareth, as the meaning (*logos*) of the world and of my life."

Those who fantasize about a change in Catholic teaching on such issues as abortion are dismayed that this man has become pope. But many, many others—including Bible-believing Protestants, and faithful Catholics who endorse what Vatican II actually said—have cause for rejoicing. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CITY DESK ■

Branching Out

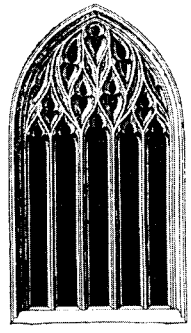
RICHARD BROOKHISER

Once upon a time Manhattan was covered with trees. The green breast of the continent, Fitzgerald called it. "O, this is Eden," some thunder-struck Dutchman exclaimed. Many thousands of trees remain, scattered in artful wildness through the parks, confined in tiny plots along the streets, sprouting through the rubble of lots emptied by blight, or held empty by speculation. But most of the trees in the city now are former trees, used for their wood.

In the history of cities wood is the shortcut to expansion, and disaster. Wood is cheap, and it burns. It is still used at construction sites, in the big ungainly posts of maple holding the dirt back. But painful experience weaned New York away from it as a building material, making wooden houses a curiosity. I keep a mental census of all the ones I have come across—a cottage in the far West Village; scattered Victorians in Yorkville; a two-story shop on upper Broadway. A few blocks from National Review, lost on a street of unremarkable apartments and townhouses, there stood a baleful wooden derelict. It had a roof and a frame, and not much else. You could imagine the wind whistling through its paintless slats. Hot-dog vendors stored their push-carts inside, until a bold gentrifier bought it, adding floors, walls, and other mod cons, so that now it gleams, bright and antiqued, the captain's nest of 29th Street.

Wood in a building put up today is a decorative affectation: We are so rich we can live like Shakers. Sheet rock is for proles. I was married in the library of the Union League Club, a snug slipper of a room, long, narrow, and high, done in South African mahogany. This lustrous stuff is the color of a Brazilian waitress's thigh. Anything darker would have made such a compact space implode, like a crypt. As it is you are happily ensconced in the mind of the upper class.

Modern yuppie restaurants are big turbulent spaces; dark wood works well there. A sleek, serious bar anchors the scene. I watched a two-century-old slab of black walnut, felled and sold in Pennsylvania, take shape in a barn in Wawarsing, N.Y. The artist had to make special tools to hold the beast while he transformed it into a launch pad for Côtes du Rhône. Now it glowers in a restaurant in the meatpacking district, propping up the forearms of traders and their hook-ups. Go ahead, make a pass, spill your drink, impress everyone with a big tip. I'll be here after you leave.



On St. Mark's Place there is an old store that sells wooden implements, furniture, and knick-knacks. How old is it? I bought a used book, *The New Bohemia*, about the East Village as a hotbed of hip. The book was so old that Andy Warhol and Allen Ginsberg were alive, and fresh. There, on the map of cool places to see, was the wood store. A sign in the window says it's closing in June, so I went to take a last look at the stock.

At the door was a shelf of Ark Toys—two-dimensional creatures, cut from pine with a bandsaw. Pelicans, moose, bears, bats, snakes, sharks, dinosaurs. (Some confusion here: Sharks didn't need the Ark, and dinosaurs didn't hear the all-aboard.) Some of the animals had smaller pop-out animals carved within them: a little hippopotamus nestling inside a big hippopotamus, like a soul or a fetus. Cup-and-ball sets—is there an older toy in the world? Popguns, for the modern child. Back rubbers, a handle with two balls, for the complaining child in us all.

There was wood that was practical: cutting boards, peg boards, mirror frames, walking sticks. There was wood from special places: boxes, bowls, chairs, and window shutters from Pakistan; bowls from Costa Rica; cedar bowls from Martha's Vineyard, guaranteed to come from trees that had died natural deaths (no Michael Schiavo lumberjacks involved, thank you). Then there were the odds and ends: pegs, turns, four-sided pyramids, three-sided pyramids, cones, sliced cones, ellipsoids, spheres, rounds. Philosophers would identify themselves by saying what these objects were: germs that never grew to maturity (romantics, scientists); pure forms that never descended into the scrum of daily life (Platonists); leftovers from the workshop (theists). Every quality, except woodenness, was also represented by its opposite: dark and light, smooth and rough, big and small, painted and not, bland as a model's cheek or whorled as W. H. Auden.

What about dead or alive? New Yorkers are so used to thinking of wood as a material, like aluminum or bakelite, that the very trees have to shout to remind us that they are alive. For three decades, the tree that the city has planted on its sidewalks has been the callery pear, a fruitless immigrant from China with the simple profile of a kindergartner's drawing. All year long, leafy or barren, the callery pears stand at attention, looking down on the parking meters and up at the street lights, and seemingly no more sentient than either. Dogs water them; balloons die in their branches; pizza delivery boys bark their shins with their bicycles. But early in spring, they burst into white buds. The cherry trees at the Tidal Basin draw the tourists, but the flowering of the callery pears is a more startling call to spring. It's as if your coat rack grabbed your arm, or your television said to you, Look!

Now look again at dead wood, that cheese board or chair leg. Its days of life are long gone, but the signs that it was once alive remain. It feels different from metal or plastic, or even stone—more irregular, and ever so slightly softer. Those lines on the surface are successive layers of old circulatory systems, like the blood vessels in an anatomy chart. Water once flowed there. Wood is more useful than we are after we're gone, and it lasts longer. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

classified advertisements

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$400 WEEKLY ASSEMBLING PRODUCTS. For free information, send SASE: Home Assembly—NR Box 216, New Britain, CT 06050-0216

CHARITY

Creating Hope, Sharing Christ. Missionary support needed pioneering medical clinic in Ghana. The Mission Society, c/o Jernigan, P.O. Box 922637, Norcross, GA 30010-9804. Support, jandrewjernigan@yahoo.com, 256 861-6772.
www.TheMissionSociety.org

FOR SALE

Robokaddy Titanium Remote Kaddy

- The Robokaddy folds & unfolds in seconds
- Pocket size remote offers full directional control incuding reverse

For Information & Free Brochure Call:
Caddy Country
800-337-7692
www.caddycountry.com

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE
"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)
"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling.)
Send to: NATIONAL REVIEW
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

HELP WANTED

Orthodox, West Coast college seeks experienced Staff Writer w/exp writing newsletter articles, press releases, ad copy, and donor appeals. Must have excellent knowledge of English language, give great attention to detail, be able to work independently, be well-versed in accepted publishing styles and formats, and have pertinent research and computer skills. Position also provides support for advertising and public relations. Comp salary based on exp. Excellent benefits. Resume, salary history, and 2 writing samples to: awriter2@aol.com

HOTELS

SAVE on hotels and resorts.
www.BidonTravel.com

"Rated One of New York City 'Best Value' Hotels." ... Zagats

New York's all suite hotel is located in the heart of the city, near corporations, theatre & great restaurants. Affordable elegance with all the amenities of home.

MURRAY HILL EAST SUITES
149 E. 39th St. (Bet 3rd & Lex) New York, NY 10016
Reservations 1-800-248-9999
Ask about our special National Review rates.

LITERARY

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK. IVY HOUSE PUBLISHING GROUP. All Subjects Considered. 1-800-948-2786.
www.ivyhousebooks.com

PUBLISHING

CONSERVATIVE PUBLISHER SEEKS POLITICALLY INCORRECT MANUSCRIPTS. EDITOR READS ALL SUBMISSIONS. 541-459-6043.
ELDERBERRYPRESS.COM

VACATION/LEISURE HOMES

Blue Ridge Georgia
Executive Mountain Chalet
$1,000,000 RE/MAX Greater Atlanta
www.HomesAtlantaGa.com Ed Thomasson
800-544-2513

VACATION RENTAL: KENNEBUNKPORT

Waterfront property on quiet cove available June–September, $2,300-$2,500 weekly, $9,000 monthly. Contact: 337-234-5803 or llh6780@louisiana.edu

WEBSITES

MindBodyMedicine.com—Linking Stress and Back Pain. Educational Materials.

WEIRDREPUBLIC.COM—Demolishing liberal mythology, one stupid myth at a time.

Your Views & Opinions Needed! Please participate in research.
www.politicalvalues.com

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
Call: Kevin Longstreet, 212-679-7330.
Deadlines: Every other Friday.

Big Duds FOR BIG Dudes!

Classic Long-sleeved Crew-neck "Tee" Features White NR logo Emblazoned on Super-Comfortable 100% "Heavyweight" Pre-shrunk Navy Blue Cotton

Roomy XXL Size Only!

Get the Long-Sleeved NR "Tee"

I'm a big, bad, XXL-kind-of conservative: Send me _____ of these great shirts (only $24.99 each, including shipping!) to

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

Total payment $ _____

New York State residents must include sales tax.

NATIONAL REVIEW
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Capitalism's Boil

NEW YORK, APRIL 19

EVERY ten years I quote an adage from the late Austrian analyst Willi Schlamm, and I hope that ten years from now someone will remember to quote it in my memory. It goes: "The trouble with socialism is socialism. The trouble with capitalism is capitalists." What brought this on this time around was the recapitulation of executive plunder featuring, but hardly limited to, Viacom. The top three executives at Viacom received total compensation last year valued at about $52 million to $56 million each in salary, bonus, and stock options.

We got, in one story of these goings-on—by Geraldine Fabrikant in the *New York Times*—a whiff of sobriety, as from someone hanging onto a tree limb in a landslide. Ms. Fabrikant quotes Brian Foley, "a longtime compensation specialist," and what he said was, "The compensation is beyond breathtaking." Viacom's share price, in the year of the gold rush for its managers, decreased by 18 percent.

We learn from Viacom's SEC filing that its 81-year-old CEO, Sumner Redstone, is presumably guarding against the hazards of senior-citizen penury. His salary was $4.97 million, and he received a bonus of $16.5 million. We think we see traces of sibling rivalry, because one of Viacom's co-presidents, Tom Freston, received only $16 million in bonus. Viacom's other co-president, Leslie Moonves, has got to have done something truly humiliating, because his bonus was only $14 million. (However, all three received more than $30 million in stock options.)

Why does capitalism tolerate such institutional embarrassments? The answer has to be that embarrassment isn't being felt. Consider excruciating, but apparently tolerable, incidentals. Freston is based in New York. But occasionally business requires him to be in Los Angeles, where he also has a home. On those nights does he take hotel rooms? No. He charges the company what he thinks is appropriate to pay him for using his own home. In 2004, this amounted to $43,000.

Mr. Freston is evidently a man with simpler habits than the Los Angeles–based Mr. Moonves. He does the same kind of thing; he has his own home in New York, but what he charged the company for the nights he spent in New York was $105,000.

Here and there efforts are being made to impose correlations of some sort between executives' compensation and stock performance. "The secret to linking pay to performance remains elusive," writes Claudia Deutsch of the *New York Times*. "Net income at Eli Lilly fell 29 percent and its return to shareholders dropped 17 percent last year, but its chief executive, Sidney Taurel, saw his pay go up 41 percent, to $12.5 million." There doesn't seem to be anything elusive about that: The boss aggrandizes.

One does have to allow for the truly unique person. If Thomas Edison were alive today, it would be unwise to cavil at any arrangement made by a company seeking his services exclusively. Bill Gates is not a genius on that order, though his gifts are complementary to Edison's—Gates knows how to exploit a technological epiphany. Edison had the epiphanies, but was no good at all at exploiting them. Imagine if Gates had come up with the patent to the light bulb.

What dismays is the utter lack of class in such businesses and businessmen here parading their skills in distortion. Michael Eisner appears twice in the table of the 25 largest compensation packages paid in one year. In 1993 he took home $203 million. In 1998, $575.6 million.

That money was taken, directly, from company shareholders. But the loss, viewed on a larger scale, is a loss to the community of people who believe in the capitalist free-market system. Extortions of that size tell us, really, that the market system is not working in respect of executive remuneration. What is going on is phony. It is shoddy, it is contemptible, and it is philosophically blasphemous.

The compliant should consider founding a new company, Executive Remuneration Corp. (ERC); the value of its shares to fluctuate according to the salaries and bonuses and stray benefits paid out to the managers of the top 100 U.S. companies. The way things are going, stockholders would become rich in no time. And no high salaries would be needed for officers of the ERC: just one man with a tabulator, adding up the salaries of the Eisners for that year.

Nuclear Options?

NEW YORK, APRIL 22

IF you collected weighty words during the past week, and agreed to exclude any that dealt with the fractious stock market and with the resurgence of the insurgencies, you would have heard the end-of-the-world talk about the American judiciary. It is worse than astonishing that the thunderclaps focused on only one aspect of the division, betokening as it does the sheer refusal to use one's eyes or concentrate one's mind.

Critics of the direction we are apparently headed in use grave language. The senators are on a "collision course." By this is meant the looming fight on the Senate floor over the filibuster, in which Sen. Bill Frist is threatening to use the "nuclear option."

Mr. Frist will report the Judiciary Committee's findings on, e.g., Janice Rogers Brown. The committee has approved her by a vote of 10–8. He will submit the recommendation of the Judiciary Committee and ask for a vote.

A voice from the rear: "The senator from Tennessee asks unanimous consent."

That does it. There being no unanimous consent, the naysayers make their points, all of this done routinely, thus avoiding the kind of stage-arresting apocalypse Mr. Smith went through when he went to Washington. Legerdemain does its work, and the entire house knows if there is any prospect of invoking cloture, which, to succeed, requires a vote deploying all forces in residence.

Changing that rule would mean that the two or three contentious candidates would be awarded their judgeships by a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

simple majority vote. Viewing the process beginning to end, you have the nominee appointed by the president, submitting to examination by a Senate committee, and voted into office by the majority of the senators.

That doesn't smell nuclear, but everyone uses the term because changing the number of votes required to end a filibuster means shredding the sheet anchor to windward. The filibuster is held in high esteem as the last refuge against plebiscitary williwaws that storm the popular will, sweeping away venerable threads of sobriety and caution.

That is one view of it. The longer view does rise to nuclear eminence. It is the extent to which the judiciary has assumed the legislative burden.

There are many issues that divide the country's legislatures, but consider only two of them, abortion rights and civil rights.

In the latter of these, we had a showdown at the University of Michigan Law School in 2003. The plaintiffs were white students who argued that they were being deprived of equal protection of the law because preference was being given to applicants for the special reason of race. The court by the narrowest majority ruled to okay this anti-meritocratic practice because in future life the lawyers would be contending with mixed-race communities, and the only way to prepare them is to replicate that mixture in the law schools.

No one believes that *Grutter* v. *Bollinger* is the last word on the subject.

Just when abortion rises to constitutional status is always being argued. And yet the candidate for a judicial post is weighed by solid senatorial flanks not on what the candidate might have to say in illuminating legal and constitutional questions, but on how he can be predicted to vote given his background on this issue.

That abdication to the courts of authority to weigh important questions of public policy is infinitely greater in democratic consequence than arrangements by which the majority of the Senate may assert itself, yet it is this, the filibuster, that gets the attention. The correct approach is an intelligent but systematic reduction of the courts' authority, e.g., to decide at what age a person may be sentenced to capital punishment.

Evangelical Bush?

NEW YORK, APRIL 26

IT is becoming an article of faith that President Bush not only is himself an evangelical conservative, but owes his election victory to evangelical conservatives. I'd guess that the psephologists have not done their homework on this latter point, and I doubt that they have materials at hand that would permit them to announce, say, that it was evangelical conservatives who gave the state of Ohio to Bush. How would you establish that Bush's appeal to evangelicals was critical? And how are you going to define evangelicals?

Wilfred McClay, a senior fellow of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C., gave an arresting lecture in February called "The Evangelical Conservatism of George W. Bush; Or, How the Republicans Became Red." By this last crack McClay means to associate Red with corporate political idealism. For instance, the socialists and the Communists.

And so to George Bush. McClay lists the energizing discontents of President Bush. "His 'compassionate conservatism,' his relatively favorable view of many federal social and educational programs, his sensitivity to issues of racial injustice and reconciliation, his softness on immigration issues, his promotion of the faith-based initiative, his concern with issues of international religious liberty, his African AIDS initiative, and above all, his enormously ambitious, even seemingly utopian, foreign-policy objectives—[these] are positions that are best explained by the effects of his evangelical Christian convictions, and by his willingness to allow those convictions to trump more conventional conservative positions." Mr. McClay darts off here to make different points, entirely engrossing: "It is strange that, of all the things liberals loathe about Bush, his religiousness seems to be at the top of the list. For it is precisely the seriousness of Bush's commitment to his evangelical faith that has made him more 'liberal,' in a certain sense, than many of his party brethren."

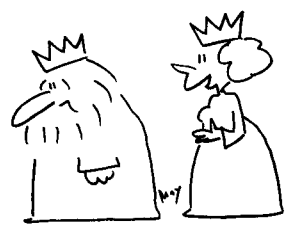
But it is time to pause. The positions listed by McClay as most likely related to evangelicalism are not plausibly removed from a general political idealism which can be said to be rooted in Christian belief, but not exclusively so. The points listed in Bush's agenda are backed by many non-Christians, and indeed the most conspicuous of these, the ultra-Wilsonianism of Bush's second inaugural address, is most reliably traced not to Christian impulses, but to a non-Christian expression of them. It is the neocons, most frequently identified as Jewish in orientation, who are primarily identified with such policies—so that we have arrived at exactly what, beyond that Jewish idealism and Christian idealism can and often do converge?

How otherwise to ingest the statement by Woodrow Wilson campaigning for the presidency in 1911? "A nation which does not remember what it was yesterday, does not know what it is today, nor what it is trying to do. We are trying to do a futile thing if we do not know where we came from or what we have been about. . . . America was born a Christian nation. America was born to exemplify that devotion to the tenets of righteousness which are derived from the revelations of Holy Scripture."

Whether Bush owes his election to any explicit connection with evangelical Christianity is sheer speculation. But a derivative point, made by Wilfred McClay, is: What has happened to the political idealism associated with the liberals? He refers to Martin Peretz of *The New Republic*, whose views he summarizes. "Liberals, he argues, find themselves today where conservatives were a half-century ago, without ideas, without a vision of the good society, bookless, forced to feed on stale ideas from the 60s, and therefore, dying."

Let them die. Meanwhile, conservatives will keep our eyes on President Bush, and stop him before he campaigns for compulsory baptism.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



"So you lost the crusade and the Saracens rule the Holy Land—what difference will it make a thousand years from now?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

happy warrior

MARK STEYN

A War Without Polkas

A WEEK and a half after the VE Day anniversary, here's a date that will get a lot less attention: May 19, 2005. On that day, the War on Terror will have outlasted America's participation in the Second World War. In other words, the period since 9/11 will be longer than the period of time between Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and the Japanese surrender in August 1945.

Does it seem that long? For the most part, no. The War on Terror has involved no major mobilization of the population at large. In contrast to *Casablanca*, *Mrs. Miniver*, "I'll Be Seeing You," "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree (with Anyone Else but Me)," "The Last Time I Saw Paris," "Victory Polka," "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition," and "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Town of Berlin," American popular culture has preferred to sit this one out, aside from Michael Moore's crockumentaries and incoherent soundbites from every Hollywood airhead who gets invited to European film festivals. And the response of U.S. government agencies hasn't been much better: In his testimony to the 9/11 commission, George Tenet said blithely that it would take another half-decade to rebuild the CIA's joke of a clandestine service. In other words, three years after 9/11, he was saying he needed another five years. Imagine if FDR had turned to Tenet to start up the OSS. In 1942, he'd have told the president not to worry, we'll have it up and running by 1950.

So, while this war may have started with the first direct assault on American territory since Pearl Harbor, it's clearly evolved into a different kind of conflict, one in which after three and a half years it's hard for many Americans to maintain the sense that it's a "war" at all. By now, NATIONAL REVIEW's British, Commonwealth, and European readers will be huffing that the Second World War wasn't three-and-a-half years long, you idiots; it was six years, except for certain latecomers who turned up halfway through. Fair point. But if the Americans were late getting into World War II they were also late getting into the War on Terror: Al-Qaeda's bombers, Saudi moneymen, and Wahhabi clerics had been trying to catch Washington's eye for years only to be dismissed, as then-defense secretary Bill Cohen said of the attack on the USS *Cole*, as "not sufficiently provocative." You'll have to do better than that, Osama!

This time, we have Michael Moore.

So he did. And you have to wonder whether, despite the increased T-shirt sales among the impressionable young men in the Egyptian and Pakistani bazaars, that was such a smart move. When bin Laden started yakking on about his "war aims"—taking back Spain, the restoration of the Caliphate—it was easy to scoff, yeah, dream on, loser. But a cursory glance at demographics quickly made it clear that, insofar as Europe has a future, it's likely to be an Islamic one. That being so, why louse things up by flying planes into buildings? Why not just lie low and in the fullness of time everything you want will come your way? The Wahhabists have successfully radicalized hitherto moderate Muslim communities from Albania to Indonesia; they've planted their most radical clerics as in-house padres throughout U.S. prisons and even the armed forces. Why screw things up by doing something so provocative it meets even Bill Cohen's criteria for a response?

Here's why. It's always useful to test the limits of your adversaries, and, though it cost them their camps in Afghanistan and much of their leadership, the 9/11 attacks exposed many useful tidbits about the decadence of the West—the worthlessness of the postmodern NATO "alliance" and the active hostility of many of its key members to the United States, the immense deference accorded not just to Islam but to the most radical Islamic groups, especially when it comes to immigration and other aspects of national security. Many Islamists might have suspected all this, but it's heartening to have it confirmed: If the "sleeping giant" is hard to wake up, his European pals aren't sleeping so much as in irreversible comas.

Thus, if this war is, as existential struggles go, much closer to the Cold War, there's one key difference. The Cold War was fought mostly by proxies and clients out on the periphery: Vietnam, Yemen, Chile, Afghanistan, Grenada . . . This time round the periphery's falling into place rather easily: Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon—moves in the right direction throughout the Middle East, swathes of Central Asia falling under U.S. influence . . .

But the real battleground is the West itself, the heart of Europe, where bombs in Spain, murders in the Netherlands, "honor killings" in Germany prompt only shrugs or preemptive capitulation from the political class. Perhaps in the end the comparison isn't World War Two or the Cold War, but the one that created the modern Middle East in the first place—the First World War, which began with one specific act of violence and unraveled all the great European empires before it was done. Four years after 9/11, a war that started with a bang seems to have fizzled to a whimper—whiny Dems, bureaucratic Homeland Security, nothing much on the horizon. Not so. There's plenty ahead. **NR**

WARNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

100% NO LOAD

Bond funds with an important difference: They're managed by T. Rowe Price.

Morningstar recently called T. Rowe Price "an impressive investment organization" and said our portfolio managers are "meticulous about their investments."[1] Perhaps that's why for each 1-, 5-, and 10-year period ended 3/31/05, over 70% of our bond funds beat their Lipper average.[2] Our bond funds are led by experienced professionals, and investment decisions are based on analysis conducted by our own independent research department. And we keep expenses low — almost all our bond funds for individual investors have expense ratios below their Lipper averages and we offer funds that are 100% no load with no 12b-1 fees or commissions.[3] Results will vary for other periods.

We offer a wide range of bond fund investments for your portfolio. Here are just a few:

As of dates: performance figures 3/31/05; yields 4/13/05

	1 Year	5 Years	10 Years	30-Day Yields
Taxable Bond Funds				
GNMA Fund (PRGMX)	2.12%	6.27%	6.41%	3.99%
Lipper GNMA Funds Average	1.57%	5.82%	6.12%	
Spectrum Income Fund (RPSIX)	5.10%	7.86%	7.90%	3.79%
Lipper General Bond Funds Average	1.58%	5.87%	7.31%	
Tax-Free Bond Funds				
Tax-Free High Yield Fund (PRFHX)[4]	5.56%	6.40%	5.88%	4.32%
Lipper High Yield Municipal Debt Funds Average	5.29%	5.83%	5.28%	
Tax-Free Income Fund (PRTAX)[4]	2.65%	6.32%	5.92%	3.53%
Lipper General Municipal Debt Funds Average	2.03%	5.67%	5.34%	

If interest rates rise significantly from current levels, bond fund total returns are likely to decline and may even turn negative in the short term. *Current performance may be higher or lower than the quoted past performance, which cannot guarantee future results. Share price, principal value, and return will vary, and you may have a gain or loss when you sell your shares. To obtain the most recent month-end performance, call us or visit our Web site. Call to request a prospectus or a briefer profile; each includes investment objectives, risks, fees, expenses, and other information that you should read and consider carefully before investing.*

Call our Investment Guidance Specialists today. They can help select the bond fund that's right for your portfolio and even open your account right over the phone.

TROWEPRICE.COM/BONDFUNDS

1-866-535-6415

T. Rowe Price®
INVEST WITH CONFIDENCE

Morningstar 10/7/04 and 10/27/04, respectively. [2]Based on cumulative total returns, 24 of 33, 22 of 27, and 19 of 24 bond funds (including all share classes and excluding funds used in insurance products) outperformed their Lipper average for the 1-, 5-, and 10-year periods ended 3/31/05, respectively. Not all funds outperformed for all periods. (Source for data: Lipper Inc.). [3]31 of 33 bond funds (excluding institutional and bank institutional funds as defined by Lipper), more than six months old had expense ratios below their Lipper average based on fiscal year-end data available as of 3/31/05. [4]Some income may be subject to state and local taxes, and for the Tax-Free High Yield Fund, the federal alternative minimum tax. T. Rowe Price Investment Services, Inc., Distributor. MPBOND071613

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

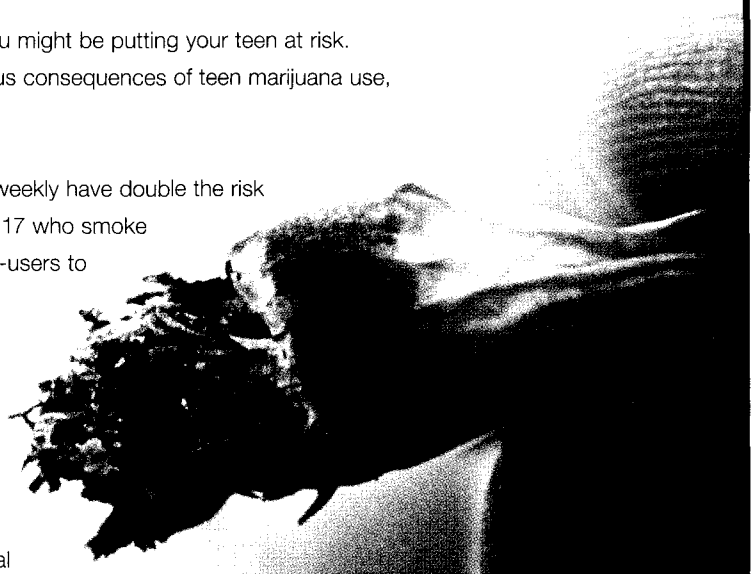
Office of National Drug Control Policy

MARIJUANA AND YOUR TEEN'S MENTAL HEALTH

Depression. Suicidal Thoughts. Schizophrenia.

If you have outdated perceptions about marijuana, you might be putting your teen at risk. New research is giving us better insight into the serious consequences of teen marijuana use, especially how it impacts mental health.

Did you know that young people who use marijuana weekly have double the risk of depression later in life?[1] And that teens aged 12 to 17 who smoke marijuana weekly are three times more likely than non-users to have suicidal thoughts?[2]



And if that's not bad enough, marijuana use in some teens has been linked to increased risk for schizophrenia in later years.[3]

Today's teens are smoking a more potent drug[4] and starting use at increasingly younger ages during crucial brain development years.[5] Still think marijuana's no big deal?

Remember, you are the most important influence in your teen's life when it comes to drugs,[6] so tell your teen the facts about marijuana. Teens who learn about the risks from their parents are less likely to smoke marijuana or use other drugs than teens who don't.

Let your teens know you don't want them using marijuana. Their mental health may depend on it.

Signed,

- *American Psychiatric Association*
- *American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*
- *American Society of Addiction Medicine*
- *Asian Community Mental Health Services*
- *Association for Medical Education and Research in Substance Abuse*
- *Institute for Behavior and Health, Inc.*
- *National Asian American Pacific Islander Mental Health Association*
- *National Association of Addiction Treatment Providers*
- *National Council for Community Behavioral Healthcare*
- *National Latino Behavioral Health Association*
- *National Medical Association*
- *Office of National Drug Control Policy*
- *Partnership for a Drug-Free America*

PARENTS.
THE ANTI-DRUG
1-800-788-2800
www.theantidrug.com

[1]Patton, GC et al. Cannabis use and mental health in young people: cohort study. *British Medical Journal*, 325: 1195–1198, 2002. [2]Greenblatt, J. Adolescent self-reported behaviors and their association with marijuana use, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), 1998. [3]Arseneault, L et al. Cannabis use in adolescence and risk for adult psychosis: longitudinal prospective study. *British Medical Journal*, 325: 1212–1213, 2002; Veen, N et al. Cannabis use and age at onset of schizophrenia. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 161: 501–506, 2004. [4]*Marijuana Potency Monitoring Project. Report No. 83*, University of Mississippi, 2003. [5]SAMHSA. Trends in Initiation of Substance Use, 2003. [6]SAMHSA. Parental Disapproval of Youths' Substance Abuse, 2002.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED